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Volume III

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By

TRIBHUVANDAS L. SHAH

L. M. & S.; M. R. A. S.

SHASHIKANT & CO.

BARODA

Bhavbijānkurajananā rāgādyāhā kṣayamupāgatāhā ।
Brahmā vā Viṣṇurvā haro jino vā namastasmai ॥

* * *

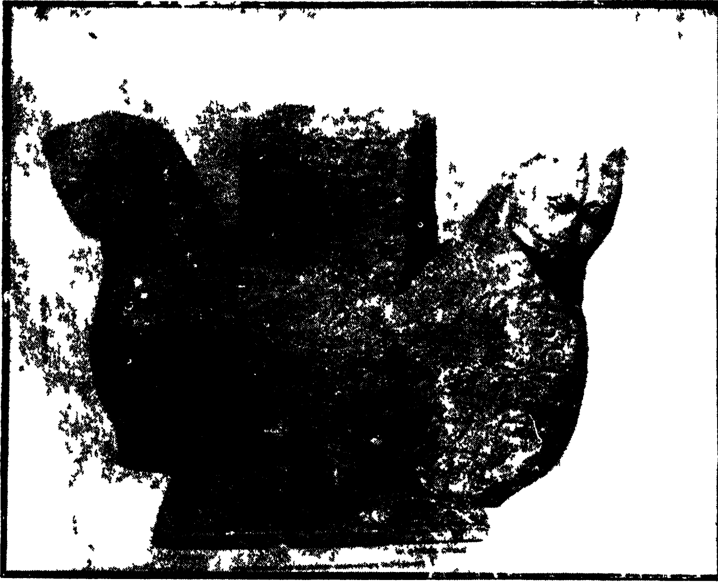
Yatra tatra samaye yathā tathā yosi sosya bhidhayā yayā tayā ।
Vita doṣa kaluṣah sachedbhavānek ev Bhagwan namostute ॥

—**Sri Hemachandrāchārya**

He whose likes etc., giving rise to the sprouts of the seeds of birth are destroyed—be he Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahādev or Jina—my salutation to him.

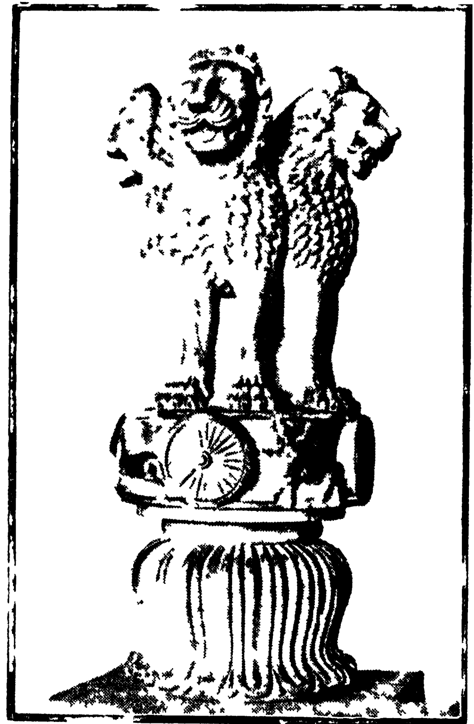
* * *

At whatever time, in whatever manner, in whatever form, by whatever name, if there is anyone, free from faults and sins, it is you alone, Oh Revered Sir, my bow to you.



Mathura Lion-Capital-Pillar

Fig. 2] [Pp. 201



Sārnāth-Pillar
(for comparison only)

Fig 3] [Vol. II

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. Adhyāy

A. D. / A. C. — After Christ

A. M. / M. E. — In the year of Mahāvīr : Mahāvīra era

Ante Before (In foregone pages)

A. V. / V. E. / V. S. — Vikrama era

B. C. Before Christ

Cf. = cf. compare

Chap. = Chapter

Dr. = Doctor

e. g. for example

f. n. footnote

i. e. that is

Fig. figure

Intro. = Introduction

G. V. S. Gujarat Vernacular Society

Infra = Below

No. : no. = Number

Pref. = Preface

Poste = That follows (In succeeding pages)

P, pp. = Page, pages

Pt. = Part

Supra Above

Seq. = Sequel, that follows

Vol. = Volume

Viz. = namely

G. E. Gupta era

S. E. Śaka era

The names of the books, that are consulted, cited and quoted

(A)

Books that are abbreviated

A. G. I.	Ancient Geography of India by Nandlal Dey
A. E. C. A. E.	Book ot Ancient Eras, by Gen. Cunningham
A. S. I.	Archeological Survey of India
A. S. R. I.	Archeological Survey Report of India
B. I.	Buddhist India by Prof. Rhys Davids
Bh. A.	Ashok by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar
B. Pr.	The Buddhi-prakash Magazine published by the G. V. S. Ahmedabad.
Bh. S. I.	Bhārat-no Sankshipta Itihas by Prof. Balkrishna M. A. Kāngadi Gurukul; 1914, Lahore.
Bh. P. R. Bh. P. R. Bh.	Bhārat-no Prāchīn Rājvaṁśa Vol. I-II by V. Rāu
C. A. I. A. C. I.	Coins of Ancient India by Gen. Cunningham
C. H. I.	Cambridge History of India
C. H. S. C. S. H. C. S. H. I. C. Sh. H. C. Sh. H. I.	Short Cambridge History of India
C. I. M.	Cat. of Coins of Indian Museum
C. D. C. I.	Indian Chronology by Mrs. Duff
C. A. R.	Cat. of Coins of Andhra Dynasty by Mr. Rapson
E. I.	Epigraphia Indica
E. H. I.	Early History of India by Mr. Vincent Smith
H. H.	The Hindu History by A. K. Majmudar Calcutta, 1920

H. U. Chho. H. U. Ch. H. P. Chh.	History of India (Uttarārdha) by Chhotalal Purāṇi M. A. (G. V. S. edition)
I. H. Q. J. I. H. Q.	Journal of the Indian Historical Quarterly (Quarterly Magazine)
I. A.	Indian Antiquary (Monthly Magazine)
J. A. H. R. S.	The Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
J. B. A. S. J. A. S. B. J. R. S. B. R. A. S. B. A. S. B.	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
J. B. B. R. A. S.	The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J. R. S. J. R. A. S. R. A. S.	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London
J. B. O. R. S. J. O. B. R. S.	The Journal of the Orissa and Bihar Research Society
J. S. I. S. J. S. I. S. J. S. I.	The Studies in Jainism in Southern India Vol. I, II by Prof. Rao & Ayyangar
K. S. C. K. S. S. K. S. S. C.	The Comments of Kalpa-sūtra; Sukh-bodhini by Vinaya Vijayji, edt. by Pdt. Hiralal Hansraj
M. S. I. M. S. E. M. S. K. I.	Maurya Sāmrājyakā Itihās by Āchārya Shree Vidyābhūṣaṇālaṁkār, Kangadi Gurukul
O. H. I.	Oxford History of India by Mr. V. Smith
P. D. P. K.	Pārgiter's Dynastic list of the Kali Age
Pari. Pari. P.	Hemchandra Sūri's Pariśiṣṭa Parva, translated & published by J. D. P. Sabhā, Bhavnagar
R. I. S.	The Rulers of India Series (book comprising of)

R. W. W.	The Buddhist Records of the Western World Pts. I, II by Rev. S. Beal.
S. B. E.	The Sacred Books of the East (Vol. XXXV, translated by Prof. Rhys Davids)

(B)

Books quoted but not abbreviated

Antiquities of Sind by Henry Cousins
Amarkosh
Asoka (Rulers of India Series) by Mr. V. Smith
Beginnings of South Indian History by Krishnaswami Ayanger
Bhagavān Pārśvanāth (Surat 1927)
Bharateśvar Bāhubali Vṛti (Translation); Bhavnagar
Bhilsā Topes and Bhārhūta Stūpa by Gen. Cunningham
Bombay Gazette
Brāhmaṇo-ki-Utpatti by Vijayānand Sūri
Bṛhatsaṁhitā by Dr. Kern
Buddhi Prakāś (G. V. S. Ahmedabad)
Ceylonese Chronicles
Commemoration Volume; N. P. Sabhā to the President, 1934
Corporate Life by Mr. Majmudar
Dipmālā (Jinsunder-sūri) by Kṣamākalyāṇ Upādhyāy
Divyāvadān (by Cowell & Neil)
Festivals by Col. Todd
Gaṅgā (monthly) research number, Jān. 1933 (Mohan-jā-ḍero by Dr. S. K. Ayangar)
Gāthāsaptaśati
Gauḍvaho by Dr. Wright & Dr. Hall
Gujarāti (weekly), Bombay
Harṣa Charita (Nirṇay Sagar Press) 1986
Harṣa Charita (Bāṇ) trans. by Cowell Thomas)
Herodotus III
His. des. Roi's du Kachmir II (Troyer)
History of Persia, Vol. I by W. S. W. Waux F. R. A. S.

Historians' History of the World
Indian Culture (Quarterly Magazine) Calcutta
Indian Antiquities, Princeps' Journal
Jain Āgam Sūtras (Uttarādhyayan, Āvaśyak, Nīśith-chūrṇi etc.)
Jain Dharma Prakāś (monthly) Bhavnagar
Jain Jyoti (monthly) Ahmedabad
Jain Sāhitya Saṁśodhak (Poona) Jinvijayji
Jain Sāhitya Lekh Saṁgrah
Jain Saṅgha Bhed (Weekly) C. P.
Jain Silver Jubilee number, 1930 Bhavnagar
Jain Tattavādarśa by Vijayānand-sūri (Lahore, 1936)
Jain Yuga (fortnightly) Jain. M. S. Conference, Bombay
Kalhan's Chronicles of Kāśmir, Vol. I by M. Stein M. A.
Kāla-Saptitikā
Kuvalay-mālā; Dākṣiṇyachinha-sūri
Kumārchhand
Mālavikāgnimitra
Mathura Inscriptions by Śrī Gaurishanker H. Ozā
Mathura and its Antiquities by Mr. Smith
Merutuṅga Vichārśreṇi
Mṛchhakaṭik (The Little-Toy-Cart)
Orientalia-Actā (1802)
Panchāṅga by Ganpat Kṛṣnāji
Pāṭaliputra; Mr. Crindle on
Political History by H. Roy Chaudhary
Pariśiṣṭa-Parva (Trans. by H. Jacobi)
Purāṇas (Vāyu, Matsya, Gargasaṁhita in Yuga, Viṣṇu Bhāgavat)
Purā-tattva (Gujarat Vidyāpiṭh)
Questions of king Milinda by Prof. Rhys Davids
Quarterly Journal of the Mystic Society
Rajataraṅgiṇi, Brahamanical History of Kāśmir
Rajasthān Pt. I; Col. Todd
The Royal Indian World Atlas by T. Nelson & Sons
Śatrunjay-Mahātmya
Samarāditya Kathā by Haribhadra-sūri

Sāhitya (monthly) Baroda Vol. XVII
Śuka-saptati
Śrutāvtār-Kathā by Vibudha Śridhar
Sheth Ambalal Nanabhai Bhandār (Baroda)
(some loose leaflets; Mss)
Śrimad Bhāgvat (Skandh XII)
Titthogāli Payannā
Tiloyasār by Digambar Nemichandra-sūri
Vedo-ki-Utpatti by Vijayānand-sūri
Upniṣadas
Wilford Researches; A. S. Bengal
Wilson ,, ; ,, ,,
The World's Parliament of Religions (Proceedings) Chicago.

PREFACE

The first two Volumes of this book have already seen the light of the day. In the prefaces to those volumes, have been given by me explanations to the various doubts and difficulties which, I thought, might rise into the minds of my readers and critics. They are, therefore, requested to go through them before they begin the perusal of this volume.

With the passage of time, various criticisms, friendly and otherwise, have appeared, and are still appearing, in the press and in the periodicals. These criticisms present different points of view. Among the various charges hurled against me, two deserve special notice : (1) I have laid special emphasis upon religion, and have written these volumes in a partisan spirit. (2) In the second place; it has been often stated that I have stuffed the volume with rather startling novelties.

Readers will please read the explanations given below.

As regards partisan-spirit in matters of religion, I have simply to refer my readers to the prefaces to the first two volumes. It will be sufficient here to add that exposition of truth and nothing but sole truth has been the sole aim of my life. In historical treatises, I firmly and earnestly believe, the sanctity of truth is inviolate. I consider it nothing short of sacrilege to depart from truth in them. The crux of the whole problem is this. Due to the fault of Jains themselves, Jaina literature has hitherto been almost unknown to the students of ancient Indian history. Consequently, it has played a very inconspicuous part in shaping ancient history. One important facet of ancient Indian life has thus remained entirely hidden from seekers of truth. So the whole ancient Indian history has been a sort of twisted and one-sided picture. It has been the present writer's aim to bring forth all available information contained in Jaina sources and thus help the students of history in formulating an authentic and correct idea of ancient India. Naturally, the influx of a whole hidden

literature would cause several changes, rather of a startling nature to the orthodox mind, in the current and widely accepted theories and contentions. It is, therefore, no wonder that those students of history who have got into the habit of thinking that certain theories and contentions are gospel truth, are either furious or jocular when they find their favourite idols dislodged from their pedestals. To these students we preach patience and calm search for truth. To them we request to remember that not unoften truth is stranger than fiction, and that everything else should be sacrificed at the altar of truth. Them we recommend a dispassionate perusal of these pages and an impartial and unbiased approach to, and study of, the information presented therein.

An author, unless of course he is as vindictive and fiery as Bernard Shaw, can ill afford to reply and re-reply to all the criticisms hurled against him. That would leave him no time for other publications, which he has still to see through print. Especially it is difficult or well nigh impossible for a man like the present author, who has already seen as many as sixty summers and who cherishes the ambition of publishing (1) Life of Priyadarśin (500 pages), (2) Life of Mahāvīr (500 pages); (3) and about 30 volumes (1000 pages each) of " Encyclopædia Jainica." Hence it has been my policy to refrain from answering criticisms except those, which absolutely require a reply. Truth, I am sure, will persist, inspite of a torrent of adverse criticism. It will see itself through all vicissitudes. Readers, therefore, are requested to give a dispassionate reading to these volumes and then form their own opinions about the theories stated therein. That would be an easier way of arriving at truth than going through the labyrinth of unnecessary or vituperative criticism.

The Gomat Idol (Vol II, pp. 334) is in the nude. It has been printed here with the private parts covered, for the sake of decency.

The present volume contains an account of the Śunga dynasty and of all the foreign races that invaded India. The account of the Gardabhīla dynasty and two chapters containing general information of eras have also been incorporated in this volume. The preparation of a correct dynastic and chronological

list of the Śungas has been a task of no small magnitude. Fresh details have been given about Patanjali, Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra and Kalki. The part played by Demetrius and Menanḍer in bringing about the downfall of the Śungas has been duly described.

Eleven chapters have been devoted to the account of the various foreign races that invaded India. Special care has been taken to classify the different races, and connected accounts with corrected chronological tables etc. have been given of each race. The repercussions of Āryan and foreign civilizations over each other have been duly described and pieces of evidence based on coins and rock-inscriptions have been given in support of them. Mathurā and Takṣillā have been dealt with in special apendixes. New facts have been given about the Ābhirs, the Traikuṭakas, the Ośvāls, the Śrimāls and the Gūrjaras. Readers will find that the account of these foreigners is well-arranged and it will give them the impression of a connected whole.

Next comes the account of the Gardabhīla dynasty. Three chapters are devoted to it. One of them, really speaking, contains the account of the intervening rule of the Śakas who ruled over Avantī for a period of seven years. Many new details about the dynasty are presented in these chapters.

The next two chapters contain details about the different eras that were founded in ancient India. Details are given therein about the origin, the founder, and the duration of each era. Authorities on eras have been freely quoted in these chapters and their views are discussed and then we have arrived at final conclusions. The names of some of the eras viz. Mahāvīra era, Kṣaharāṭa era, Chaṣṭhaṇa era—are practically unknown to readers. It has been shown that these eras have been mentioned in various inscriptions and coins, which prove their existence indubitably. Minute but important details about both the Vikrama era and the Śaka era have also been given.

Maps showing the territorial extents of various kings, pictures illustrating ancient sculpture and coins bearing the portrait-heads of various rulers are also, as in previous volumes, special features

of this volume. Various dynastic lists and chronologies have been also given wherever necessary. Facing pp. 79 is given a comparative table showing who were the native rulers when particular races invaded India. Another such table is given on pp. 329. It has taken the writer no small amount of time and toil to prepare them, of course, for the facility of readers.

There is a class of critics who have chosen to declare that the arguments and proofs stated in support of the theories advanced by the author, are not convincing enough. These critics are requested to go through the following paragraphs.

Historical data are generally gathered from the following sources:—(1) Legends and traditions; (2) Inscriptions; (3) Coins; and (4) Contemporaneous incidents narrated in historical treatises of other countries. All these sources are useful in more or less degree. A theory based on the corroborating pieces of evidence gathered from all the four, is well nigh true and irrefutable. In other words, when all the four sources tell the same tale in connection with a problem, the solution based on the common evidence gathered from them is correct enough to inspire confidence. So far as information is available from all the four sources and so far as these sources are unanimous about a thing, there is little room for doubt or dissent.

In ancient times however,—with which we are concerned in these volumes—no proper, or very improper, records were kept. Of those records that might have been kept, few have come down to us and many must have been destroyed, one way or the other, in course of time. Furthermore, no uniform system of dating events existed in those times. In relation to these times, therefore any stray piece of evidence gathered from any of the above sources, is extremely valuable. The more so it is, if it is supported by the other sources. In fact, when all the four sources are unanimous on a point, it is not in any way unsafe to come to a conclusion about it, based on the common pieces of evidence. Sometimes, information on a point may be available from only one or two sources, while the remaining two may be silent about this. The general rule that may be observed is, that the more

the number of the sources supporting a theory, the greater its reliability is. To make, however, assurance doubly sure, we have always seen to it, that the theory thus supported, fits in chronologically with other events. Mr. Vincent Smith observes, and very rightly too, " A body of history must be supported upon a skeleton of chronology and without chronology, history is impossible." This is an axiom most reverently followed by me throughout the pages of these volumes. I have always seen, whether a particular event fits in with the general chronological table of a particular period or not, because Arithmetic can never be cheated. For instance, if it be proved that a particular king was on the throne of Magadh in B. C. 327, it logically follows that he was a contemporary of Alexander the Great who invaded India in the same year. Thus, Sandrecottus of the Greek history must have been that king, who was on the throne of Magadh in B. C. 327. Similarly, if it be proved that during the time when Priyadarśin was on the throne of Magadh, the five kings whose names are stated in R. E. XIII of Priyadarśin, were ruling over particular territories, that during the same time particular Ceylonese kings (variously named in Mahāvamśa, Dipvamśa and in Simhālese Chronicles) were on the throne and that Śi-Hu-Wāng, the great Chinese emperor built the famous gigantic wall during the same time, we logically come to the conclusion that they were all contemporaries. Thousands of details contained in the Rock-edicts and Pillar-edicts clash with one another and produce a violently discordant note because it has been erroneously and presumptuously taken for granted by scholars that Aśok and Priyadarśin were one and the same individual. When we try to confirm these details in the light of chronology, we find ourselves immersed in an ocean of the most confounding kind. All these confusions, discordant notes and intellectual dissatisfaction vanish into thin air when we, in the light of chronological evidence, strike upon the truth that they were names of two different emperors, one succeeding the other. All the details in all the Rock-edicts and Pillar-edicts when tested on the anvil of chronology, rise like a fountain emitting the most powerful and harmonious streaks of truth. These details and chronology seem

to be working hand-in-hand like bosom friends. In spite of this overwhelmingly logical and convincing result, there are readers and critics who choose to stick to old and dry-as-dust theories, no matter how much they go against the actual and logical information gathered in the most refreshingly reasonable and convincing methods. When these readers and critics come across any theory, which strikes at the root of their pet beliefs and accepted conventions, they, like spoilt children or like dogmatists, become vituperative, raise the critical broad-sword and plunge themselves heart and soul into the unseemly and unscholarly work of hacking and hewing the new theory into infinitesimally small pieces. To such readers, we humbly request to have patience and impartiality. Them do we exhort to approach a new theory with a dispassionate, unbiased and catholic mind. Them do we advise not to discard a theory simply because it is new.

It has been stated that evidence based on coins and inscriptions is well nigh irrefutable. This is true in a large measure. But a word of caution is necessary here. In the case of inscriptions, everything depends upon the correct deciphering and interpreting of the script. Now, script on an inscription is not, and cannot be, immune from the inclemancies of weather. Due to many other reasons, several changes might have been effected in the original drafts of various inscriptions. Sometimes both the script and the language are unknown to us and sometimes one of them. These obstacles, we have to bear in mind while accepting as true the evidence based on them. The same conditions apply to the coins. No doubt, the coins bear signs, symbols, and some of them, portrait-heads; and hence, evidence based upon them is more reliable than that based on inscriptions. The absolutely reliable way, however, of establishing and finding out truth is the skeleton of chronology. A thing which is proved to be chronologically correct must always be taken as true.

These volumes are intended for scholars as well as for laymen. Hence minute details are given in foot-notes. The book itself contains a presentation of those things only, which are

likely to interest the general reader for whom, specially, these volumes are meant. At the same time, advanced students of history will also find much to attract their attention and deserve their notice. The primary motive, however, is to initiate the general mass of readers into the cobwebs of Ancient Indian history and to make them permanently interested in the glorious past of India.

The author humbly hopes that perusal of the foregoing paragraphs will go some way in quieting the doubts and difficulties of most of the readers and critics of these volumes.

The author takes this opportunity to thank all, who have helped him, one way or the other, in bringing out this volume. He acknowledges his debt to various historical treatises, a full list of which is given elsewhere and to all historians, whom he has quoted in the books. He also recognizes the services of the translator of these volumes, from Vernacular into English–Mr. R. J. Desai, M. A. of Rajkot. Last, but not the least, he forwards his sincere thanks to those readers, scholars, and reviewers of the published volumes, who have, through love for history, penned something in favour of or against the theories stated in the book.

Tribhuvandas L. Shah

Pictures in the Book

In the following description, the first line of numbers shows the serial numbers of the pictures themselves, and the second line indicates the page in the book on which they are given.

Defficiency in successive numbers of the pictures represents, those pictures given at the top of every chapter and various maps; for their details see ante.

(A)

No. *Page* *Details*

1 **Cover page**:—The picture represents the Kalpa Tree (i. e. the Desire-fulfilling Tree). Details about it have been given on pp. 19 of the preface to Vol. II.

2 **The inner Cover page**:—This is a typical selection. It represents the Lion-capital Pillar at Mathurā. It has been selected due to following reasons:—(1) It is a model of ancient sculpture. (2) Details about it have been given in this volume. (3) It contains important historical material. (4) It throws good light on the life of those, who played a prominent part in its establishment. Let us discuss these points in details:—

(1) It gives us a good idea of the proficiency of the artists of those times. Of course, it is not the best model of ancient sculpture. For further details see picture No. 54, below. It was erected in B. C. 115. It, thus, represents antiquity in a good measure.

(2) Details about it have been given on pp. 171 & 201 and elsewhere. For the exact number of pages, see the index.

(3) It throws good light on king Kalki, much definite information about whom is not hitherto

No.	*Page*	*Details*
		available. (Vide the account of Agnimitra). The re-installation ceremony of this Stūpa was performed in B. C. 115, and 65 years before that, it was destroyed by Agnimitra. This means that there is close connection between the assumption of the title Kalki by Agnimitra and the original name (Voḍvā Stūpa or Deva-rachit Stūpa) of this Stūpa.
		(4) The Queen-consort of Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul got it re-installed. All the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs were invited to attend the ceremony. This showed that the Kṣaharāṭas were very devotedly attached to their religion, namely Jainism.
		This is, in brief, the account of the Stūpa. In course of time, however, like many other relics of antiquity, it underwent through many vicissitudes and was found to form a part of a certain goddess (The Small-pox Goddess). At present, it is kept in the museum at London. On pp. 135, Vol. IX, of Epigraphica Indica, it is stated:—" The object of the inscription is to record a religious donation on the part of the chief queen of Satrap Rajuvul... Found on the steps of an altar devoted to Sitala on a site belonging to low caste Hindus at Mathura... Secured by Dr.Bhagavanlal who brought it to Bombay; then presented to British Museum where it lies at present. Being contemporary with Taxilla plate, this can be placed as nearly B. C. 42."
3	Inner cover	The Pillar inscription of Sārnāth. The sculpture of this pillar has elicited the praise of all the sculptors and art-experts of the world. Details about it have been given in the previous volumes. Its picture has been given here, in order to facilitate comparison with the picture of the Lion-capital of Mathura, which has also been given here. The Mathura-pillar was erected nearly 125 years after the erection

No.	*Page*	*Details*
		of the Sārnāth Pillar. Priyadarśin, a staunch Jain like Rājuvul, but a more powerful emperor than he, erected it.
10	104	Portrait-head of Demetrius, the Yona chief who first established a foreign kingdom in India.
11	106	Portrait-head of Menanḍer. He was at first a favourite general of Demetrius. They have put on helmets in such a way, that unlike other European kings, their necks are properly covered, which is a sign of respectibility in the Āryan culture. These portrait-heads are reprints from their coins.
14	143	Portrait-head of Nahapāṇ. Many foreign chiefs have got their coins minted. These coins contain art, religious symbols and portrait-heads and so, are extremely valuable and reliable pieces of historical evidences as well as informations. Nahapāṇ's coins contain the best sort of information about him. The system introduced by him is seen to be continued without any vital changes. Portrait-heads are generally found with crowns on the head, in imitation of his portrait-head. For further details vide the chapters on coins.
15	164	Portrait-head of Chaṣṭhaṇ. Like No. 14, Chaṣṭhaṇ's coin has also been set up as a standard. Both Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ belong to different races, and to different places. Their coins are however, similar.
17	176	The portrait-head of Rājuvul. His territorial extent was less than that of Chaṣṭhaṇ or of Nahapāṇ. Nevertheless, he was a powerful king endowed with all the virtues of the other two. He was, in religious matters, more devout than they; the Lion-capital Pillar was re-installed by his Chief Queen. It has made their names long lasting.

No.	*Page*	*Details*
18	185	Portrait-head of Mahākṣatrap Pātik of Mathurā. It is a reprint from his coins. He was very much devoted to religion, as is shown in the account of his life.
25	308	Portrait-head of Iśvardatta Ābhir. He was one of the Śakas who had settled in Govardhan Samay, the capital of which was Nāṣik. Śaka Chiefs were appointed as governors over this region during the time of the Chaṣṭhaṇas. Later on, when the time was opportune, they proclaimed themselves independent rulers. Their leader assumed the title Mahākṣatrap and founded the Ābhira dynasty. He also started an era in the name of the dynasty. It is known as the Kalchuri or Chedi era.
26	305	This is the portrait-head of Dharsen, who succeeded Iśvardatta after an interval of nearly 250 years. He continued the era founded by his predecessor; but he changed the name of the dynasty to Traikūṭak, deriving it from the name of the mountain —Trirasmi—in that region. These two were thus the most important and the most prominent members of the dynasty. Details about them have been given in a special chapter XI, at the end of Part VII.
33-38	400	Details about all the nine eras that were founded in Ancient India, are given in this volume. Some eras were founded by kings in commemoration of their names. Others were started voluntarily by the people in commemoration of, either a religious prophet or of a king. Of the nine persons—prophets or kings—cennected with the eras, the portrait-heads of six are available. All the six have been printed here. Of these No. 33 to 35 show Mahāvīr Buddha, and Christ respectively. The remaining three are the portrait-heads of the three kings, who either founded or are connected with, an era. Their names are:—Nahapāṇ, Kaniṣka I, and Chaṣṭhaṇ.

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The Kṣaharāṭa era was founded by Nahapāṇ. It was dated from the beginning year of the reign of his father—Bhūmak—as a mark of respect. Bhūmak struck no coins and erected no inscription. Nahapāṇ dated the events described in his inscriptions in this era, even during the life-time of Bhūmak. All Kṣaharāṭa chiefs—Rājuvul, Sodāṣ, Liak and Pātik—made use of this era, in the inscriptions and plates. Hence, it has been given the general name, Kṣaharāṭa era.

We have given the name "Kuśān" to the era started by Kaniṣka, though the era was founded by him and was dated from the first year of his reign. The choice of the word "Kuśān" is due to its being well-known in history. Again, Kaniṣka was not the founder of the Kuśāna dynasty. His grandfather Kuzula Kadaphisis I, was the founder and his father Vima Kadaphisis II, was the first to put his footsteps into India; however "Kuśān" represents the whole dynasty.

The last is the portrait-head of Chaṣṭhaṇ. The era founded by him has been given the name Chaṣṭhaṇ" era by us. He began the dating of his era from the first year of the reign of his father-Ghṣamotik-as a mark of respect for him. Hence, we have given the name of the dynasty to the era, rather than of any individual member of the dynasty, or of the race to which he belonged. Chaṣṭhaṇ belonged to the Kuṣāna race and it was necessary to distinguish him and his era from the other Kuśāns and their era. Again, Ghṣamotik was not as powerful as his son. So, taking into consideration all these circumstances, the name "Chaṣṭhaṇa era" has been found to be the most appropriate of all.

The last three pictures are reprints from coins; the first three have been made out from idols.

Details about decorative pictures

Part V

Chapter I—The sacrificial horse is let loose by Agnimitra. While fighting against the Yavanas, Vasumitra loses his life. The horse is led further after re-instatements have been sent by Agnimitra.

Chapter II—Patanjali has firmly established a rigorously Brahminic regime. The Jains are persecuted by Brahmins. All sorts of atrocities are perpetrated upon them. Religious propaganda by means, fair as well as foul—is in full force. A smoke-prevailing scene represents the degradation of the moral of the people.

Chapter III—The power of the incarnation of Kalki-sword in hand-spreads in all the corners of the world. A city has fallen a prey to a gigantic flood which has played a havoc there. Agnimitra is delighted at his marriage with princess Mālavikā through the good offices of his queen consort, Dhāriṇī.

Chapter IV—A nation steeped in luxury and licentiousness is bound to fall. Crime was rampant in the Śunga kingdom during its latter days. Heliodorus, the Yona representative got a pillar erected as mark of his devotion to Kṛṣṇa,

Part VI

Chapter I—From B. C. 600 to B. C. 300 India fell continuously a prey to foreign invasions. Some foreign invaders returned home laden with rich booty. Some settled in India. Of those, who settled were Kṣatraps, Kuśāns and Śakas.

Chapter II—The Yavanas are seen turning their back upon India after being severely beaten by the Indians. The Aśvamedha sacrifice is left half-finished and Sumitra dies. The Yona chiefs

who have settled in India, introduce the Indian system in their coins.

Chapter III—The Brāhmī and the Kharoṣṭhī scripts are seen shaking hands as a sign of mutual borrowings. The Sun and the Moon shower their blessings upon these scripts, which seem to be related as mother and son.

Chapter IV—Nahapāṇ the wise ruler of Avanti, is seen making provision for wells and other means of public welfare. Nahapāṇ cherished ambitions of expanding his trade inland as well as foreign.

Chapter V—The chief queen of Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul performs the re-installation ceremony of the Lion-capital Pillar at Mathurā. The Brahmins are given perfect religious liberty. The king is seen absorbed in the contemplation of spiritual bliss near the idol of Tīrthankar.

Chapter VI—Jainism was at its zenith in Mathura. Buddha offers his own head to the hungry tiger. The name Taxilla owes its existence to this incident of selflessness.

Chapter VII—The old Mauryas and the new Mauryas in the south are seen treating each other very cordially. The Persian Empire is making rapid inroads in India.

Chapter VIII—India was partly ruled by the Persians and partly by the Indians themselves. During these times many foreign invasions took place both by land and by sea.

Chapter IX—Coins of Menanḍer are seen near Broach. The Śakas were all powerful in India at that time. Powerful races were busy establishing power over Saurāṣṭra.

Chapter X—The Ābhirs, though they were breeders of cattle, were none the less a warlike people. They descended from the Śāhi kings of Saurāṣṭra. Ṛṣabhadatta married the daughter of Nahāpāṇ.

Chapter XI—In ancient times, hills, valleys, dales or adjoining plateaux were selected for erecting temples. Stūpas were also built on such sites; and as a result of war one nation used to vanish to be supplanted by another.

Part VII

Chapter I—Human intellect works perversely in times of adversity. Sarasvatī, a Jaina nun, is being forcibly carried away to the palace by the servants of the king. Her brother, Kāliksūri, an influential Jaina monk, resorts to the Śakas as an extreme measure. The Śaka soldiers stuff the mouth of Gardabhil with arrows and thus effectively prevent him from braying like an ass–an act which would have killed all who heard it. The Gardabhila king sues for peace.

Chapter II—King Udayan renounced the world, entered the Jaina Holy Orders and entrusted the throne to his nephew. The new king began to perpetrate all kinds of actrocities upon his subjects. When Udayan—now a monk–returned to his capital to give good advice to his nephew, the latter tried to poison him to death.

The Śaka–rule over Avantī was no less cruel. At last Vikramāditya extirpated them. Rows of lamps were lighted in the temple of Mahāvīr in commemoration of the place were he died.

Chapter III—Vikramāditya was a wise and popular king. He always risked his life for the sake of his people and visited all sorts of places alone, at all odd times. He also established an observatory.

Part VIII

Chapter I—Vikramāditya is still fresh in the memory of the people on account of his era, which is widely prevalent at present. The Mahāvīra era is represented by a lotus which blooms in autumn and which withers in winter.

Chapter II—Priyadarśin's empire, one can say without much fear of exaggeration, spread to almost every corner of the world. Many eras merge themselves into one principal era, which in the form of a lamp, emits powerful light.

Maps

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1	47	Agnimitra was at first the commander-in-chief of the last Maurya king. When he found that Mauryan empire was fast dwindling down, he took the reins of the government in his own hands. He consolidated his power at home first. Then he began his conquests and became the emperor of a mighty empire.
2	71	Downfall of Śunga empire. Though Aśoka and Agnimitra were both powerful emperors, yet it was a different story with their successors. Aśoka's successor was the mighty Priyadarśin, while the successors of Agnimitra steeped themselves in luxury and vice, and consequently lost the empire. Foreigners are, once more seen, re-establishing their power as a consequence.
3	84	The earth was no doubt believed to be round in old times. Several oceans and lands-both circular in shape-however surrounded it alternately. The map illustrates this view-point. The last circle contains a mountain. Then follows the land-the bourne where no man or no bird can remain alive.
4	89	In Jambūdwīp there was a large peninsula named Śakadwīp. Later on, both these Dwīpas combined and became one strech of land. An idea is given of the political formation of various countries out of this combination.
5	89	The map shows the place of the origin of the Āryans and of the old sages and saints.
6	149	Map showing the territorial extent of Nahapāṇ Kṣaharāṭ. He established a reign of peace and order in India.
7	257	It seems that peace was not the lot of India in those times. The moment Nahapāṇ died, foreign invasions began to take place as frequently as before. People were very unhappy. Kings had adopted the policy of self-preservation.

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		Āchārya Kālik-sūri incited the Śakas to invade India. He had to resort to this measure when the Gardabhīla king turned a deaf ear to his importunities to set his sister at liberty. The Śakas landed in Saurāṣṭra and established his power there and in Sind. When the monsoon was over, they invaded Avantī, and conquered it. Gardabhil fled away. The last Śaka king died in forest while pursuing the Ariṣṭakarṇa Śātakarṇi, who had helped Gardabhil.
8	345	The map shows that, north India was under the rule of the Indo-Pārthian emperor Aziz I, western India was under the rule of the Śakas, and the Āndhras were supreme in south India. It is a wonder, why Aziz did not try to grab the kingdom of Avantī, when it was in a state of turmoil under the Śakas.
9	353	Map showing the region around Bhilsā. Details about it have been given on pp. 178 & seq. of Vol. I (Vol. I, Intro. pp. 31; description of Map No. 4 & picture No. 27 there). We may add here, that many events connected with the life of Mahāvīr have taken place here. It is a very holy place of the Jains.
10	377	Map showing the territorial extent of Śakāri Vikramāditya. He established his power over all the regions which were under the rule of the Śakas. He established a reign of peace and order. People were happy and contented.
11	393	Map showing the territorial extent of Vikrama-charitra, the grandson of Vikramāditya. He was known in the Punjab through a legend. When the last Indo-Pārthian emperor Goṇḍofarnes, left India for good, the whole of his kingdom, was annexed by Vikrama-charitra. The Āndhra empire was intact because the Āndhras always maintained friendly relations with the Gardabhils. They had also helped him in recovering their lost throne. They took a prominent part in extirpating the Śakas and re-established the seat of their capital in Paiṭhaṇ. In short, the people were happy under their rule also.

ANCIENT INDIA

Vol. III

comprising

Parts V to VIII

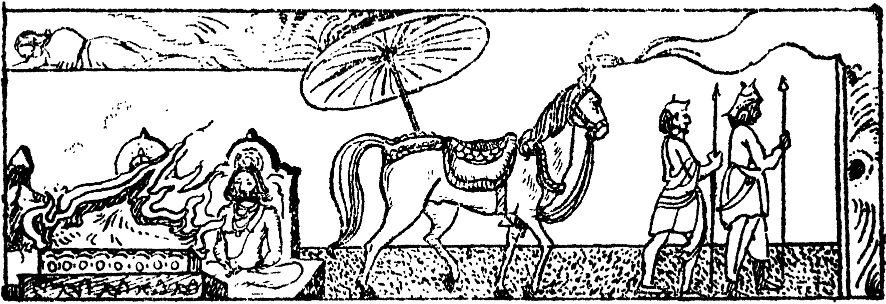
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Part 5

PART 5



The Śungas



Chapter I

Śungabhṛtya or Śunga Dynasty

Synopsis:—*Plan of chapters—some changes in it.*

Distinction between "Śungabhṛtya" and "Śunga"—Duration of the dynasty as "Śungabhṛtya" and as "Śunga."

Details about Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra—doubts and difficulties pertaining to them—Durations of their reigns and problems concerning them—List of the names of the remaining kings and a discussion about the duration of the whole dynasty.

Salient dates in the lives of Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra—Dynastic list based upon the authority of numerous Purāṇas and corrections in it—A correct dynastic list of the whole Śunga dynasty.

Śunga dynasty

Immediately after the end of the Maurya dynasty, the Śungas[1] became the rulers of Ujjain-Avanti. Their rule lasted for 90 years, from B. C. 204 to B. C. 114, or from A. M. 323 to A. M. 413.

The dynastic list

The divergences between the accounts given by the Jaina writers and by the Vedic writers, require elucidation here. The author of Pariśiṣṭa-parva has given an account of the kings that ruled over Avanti, right from the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr to the time of Śakāri Vikramāditya, i. e. for 470 years. The three verses which contain this account have been variously misinterpreted by many a historian and antiquarian. These misinterpretations have resulted into errors in the dates of the kings of the whole Maurya dynasty. We have dealt with this problem in Vol. I. Pp. 202, and have given there the true interpretation of these verses. The dates of the rule of the Śunga dynasty have not enjoyed immunity from these errors.

A note to historians

According to the Jaina writer the rule of the Śungas lasted for 90 years. The Vedic writers, on the other hand, have given 112 years to their credit.[2] So, we have to explain the cause of this difference of 22 years. The explanation is as follows:—

While giving the account of the reign of any king, the Jaina writer always clings to the habit of giving the dates of his rule beginning from his accession to the throne. The Vedic writers, on the other hand, have been found to have taken into account the dates when a particular person had not actually ascended the throne, but was merely either the prime-minister or the commander-in-chief or in some position of power. They seem to have drawn little distinction between King de facto and King de jure. When a person was powerful enough to overshadow the actual

(1) C. H. I. pp. 514:—The origin is obscure. Their name which means "fig-tree" may perhaps be tribal.

(2) See Pargiter's "Dynastic list of the Kali Age."

king, they have begun to consider him as king himself, and have included his period of pre-kingship, into the duration of his reign.[3] They have particularly adopted this method when the person in question has happened to have been a follower of the Vedic religion. That they have done so with regard to the Śunga kings is quite obvious. The first twenty-two years of the political career of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śunga dynasty, were spent by him as a servant-may be a servant of power and position and perhaps wielding more authority than the king in question-(Bhṛtya[4]) of the Maurya dynasty and of the Āndhra dynasty. During the later years of his life he acted as the regent of Agnimitra, and had retired from active political life.

We have stated in chapter VI of Vol. II that the last kings of the Mauryan dynasty were little more than figureheads, and that the real power lay in the hands of Puṣyamitra, the commander-in-chief, who was appointed there by Śātvāhana kings of the Āndhra dynasty. Thus we see that though Puṣyamitra wielded more power than the kings themselves, yet he was, in fact, a servant of the Mauryas through the Āndhras. So this period of his pre-kingship can be truly called as the rule of the Śungabhṛtya[5] dynasty. This period comprised 22 years. The remaining 90 years were the years during which the Śungas ruled as kings, both de facto and de jure.

The Jaina writers have refrained from the use of the term "Bhṛtya", because they had no necessity to do so. They were

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(3) Same was the condition with calculation of the duration of the rule of Nandivardhan of the Nāga dynasty, Chandragupta of the Maurya dynasty and of Aśoka. We have discussed and fixed their periods of rule in their accounts.

(4) See f. n. no. 5 below.

(5) Scholars have interpreted the word Śungabhṛtya as "The servant of Śunga". This interpretation is misleading. The real meaning of the word is "A Śunga servant," i. e. a servant who descended from the dynasty of that name. (The word "Āndhrabhṛtya" in vol. IV, is to be interpreted similarly. Cf. vol. I. Pp. 151 and seq. with f. n. given there. Further in this volume and f. n. below).

concerned with those kings who were kings both in name and in power.

The Jaina writer, the author of Pariśiṣṭa-parva, states that the rule of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra lasted for 30 years,[6] and that the rule of Balamitra and Bhānumitra lasted for the remaining 60 years. Thus he gives only four names and distributes 90 years among them as stated above. The Vedic writers, on the other hand, have given 8 to 10 names,[7] and have distributed the years as follows:—

Another point of difference

Puṣyamitra	=	38	years.
Agnimitra	=	7	„
Vasumitra	=	7	„
The remaining kings from Sujyeṣṭha to Devabhūti[8]	=	60	„
		112	total.

We shall now attempt to explain this difference:—

The Jaina writer has assigned 30 years to Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra and has not mentioned Vasumitra at all. This means that, only the first two must have actually ascended the throne, and that Vasumitra must have not. He might have, no doubt, held a position of great power during the rules of the first two. The Purāṇās have given his name on account of the reason which we stated just above. In the dynastic list given by them, they have also mentioned "Vasumitra II". This means that, according to them, there was a "Vasumitra I". Again in the famous play of Kālidās,—"Mālvikāgnimitram", there is a character named "Vasumitra". He is treated there as an independent king. This can only mean that the Vedic writers are in the habit of considering that person as a king, who wielded much power. In short,

(6) For further explanation vide further pages.

(7) The list of names is given later on.

(8) See f. n. no. 7 above.

we can safely assign the first 30 years, out of the aggregate of 90, to Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra. The first twenty-two years of the pre-kingship period of Puṣyamitra may be added to this, making a total of 52 years. Some Purāṇik writers[9] distribute these 52 years in the following manner:-38 to Puṣyamitra; 7 to Agnimitra and 7 to Vasumitra. Any way, the total number of years comes to 52, though there exists a sort of riddle as to their distribution among the kings concerned. We shall tackle the problem later on. Thus both the Jaina and the Vedic writers are correct in their own way. We may divide the period of Śunga rule as follows:—

(1) The first twenty-two years:—the period during which Puṣyamitra was the commander-in-chief of the Mauryas. We can call this period as the rule of the Śunga-bhṛtya dynasty.

(2) The next thirty years:—the period of independent rule and kingship of Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra.

(3) The last sixty years:—the period of the rule of the remaining Śunga kings.

The remaining kings

According to some of the Purāṇās, the names of the remaining kings and the years of their rule are given as follow:—Sujyeṣṭha=7 years; Pulindik=3 years; Ghoṣ=3 years; Vasumitra II =7 years; Odrak=7 years and Devbhūti =10 years. This amounts to 37 years of rule among six kings. Other Purāṇās have given other lists and have distributed different numbers of years to the kings. One of them has given one more name:-Bhāgavat, and has ascribed 22 years of rule to him. We can deduce one thing from all these; during the rule of these five, six or seven kings, no event of any importance must have taken place, from the view point of the Vedic writers. If at all any event must have taken place, it must have been disgraceful to the Vedic religion, and hence they must have thought it proper to omit to mention it. Any event, enhancing the credit of the religion, must have been dealt with relish and gusto by them.

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(9) See f. n. no. 7 above.

The Jaina writers on the other hand have given only two names, viz, Balamitra and Bhãnumitra, and have assigned the remaining 60 years to them. To understand this difference, one has to know the method of the narration of the Jaina writers. The Vedic writers, as we already know, have, not only not omitted the most unimportant kings, but have also included in the list those, who actually did not ascend the throne, but wielded much power. The author of Pariśiṣṭa-parva was concerned with the names of those persons who actually ascended the throne of Avanti, and out of them too, with those of any historic importance. He has given the names, in order to indicate the period, during which Avanti was under the rule of a particular dynasty. It was not his intention to give an exhaustive account of these dynasties. So, when he gave only two names, viz, Balamitra and Bhãnumitra for a period of sixty years, we naturally come to the conclusion that he must have meant "Balamitra, Bhãnumitra and others".

The reader will now see that the divergences between the accounts of the Jaina writers and of the Vedic writers, are only apparent and not fundamental. Only, he has to understand them from the view-points of these writers.

The conclusions that are drawn above, may be open to question as long as they are not substantiated by some convincing pieces of evidence. In this connection, we have quoted a famous aphoristic sentence from Mr. Vincent Smith[10] and have put it into practice while arranging the dynastic lists in Volume I and II. A body of history must be supported upon a skeleton of chronology and without chronology history is impossible. Again, a chronological piece of evidence is not only well nigh irrefutable, but also a guide to further deductions. An attempt of the kind is made below.

The problem of the distribution of the years of rule

Both the Vedic and the Jaina writers are unanimous in stating that[11], there was to flourish a king named Kalki 124 years before

(10) Vide vol. I. Intro. pp. 10.

(11) For further details vide the account of Agnimitra.

the Vikrama Era and that he would die at the age of 86. This king, thus, must have flourished in 181 B. C. (57 B. C. the beginning of the Vikrama Era + 124 years), or in 470–124=346 A. M. We have now to decide whether this year was the date of Kalki's birth or of the beginning of his rule as a king or of his assuming the title " Kalki ".

Puṣyamitra

We shall give later on an account of Kalki. That account is convincing enough to come to the conclusion that Kalki was the title given to Puṣyamitra. Even according to foreign writers, Puṣyamitra was a very powerful king. We shall show presently, however, that Kalki was the title given to Agnimitra, the son of Puṣyamitra. Puṣyamitra began his career as a commander-in-chief and a commander-in-chief, cannot be called a king, however powerful he must have been. Again, when he actually ascended the throne, he was very old and about to retire from active life. He did actually live a retired life, (in the same manner in which Aśoka had spent the remaining 19 years of his life after the coronation ceremony of Priyadarśin). Agnimitra, the actual king, respected his father and treated him with honour. So the Vedic writers have described this period of retirement as the period of active kingship by Puṣyamitra. We can now divide his political career as follows:—

(1) As commander-in-chief during the Mauryan rule.	22 Years
(2) The remaining years as his period of retirement.	16 Years
	38 Years

The Jaina writers, as we have already seen, have ascribed 30 years to Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra together. This can be explained as follows:—

Had Puṣyamitra been an independent ruler at any time and for any number of years, the Jaina writers must have mentioned that number against his name alone. That they have not done so, means that he had not, at any time, enjoyed that position.

For the first twenty-two years of his political career he was the commander-in-chief of the Mauryas, and for the remaining sixteen years he was the regent of his son Agnimitra, who was on the throne. The 38 years ascribed to Pusyamitra by the Purāṇās can be explained in this way only. Now the reader will understand that out of the 30 years ascribed to Pusyamitra and Agnimitra together, by the Jaina writers, Pusyamitra was the regent of Agnimitra for the first sixteen years, and for the remaining fourteen years Agnimitra was the independent ruler. It becomes quite clear from this that for all the thirty years, the king de jure was Agnimitra, while Pusyamitra never enjoyed that position during his life. Hence Pusyamitra's name is not included in the list of Śunga kings[12]. It is only proper to call him Śungabhṛtya.

The Vedic writers have stated that he died at the age of 80,[13] (or of 88). We can now state the dates of the main events of his life as follows:—

	A. M.	B. C.	Age	No. of years for which he held the position.
Birth:—	251	276	0	0
Commander -in-chief	301 to 323	226 to 204	50 to 72	22
Regentship=	323 to 339	204 to 188	72 to 88	16 — 38
Death	339	188	88	0

(12) Ind. His. Quart. V. No. 3. (Sept. 1929). Pp. 397:—"In Divyāvadan, XXIX, Puṣyamitra is represented as the last king of the Maurya Dynasty and not the first king of Śunga dynasty."

(13) If we take it for granted that he died at the age of 80, we shall also have to accept the theory that he became the father of a son, when he was only eight years old; his son was born in A. M. 267, while his own year of birth would come to A. M. 259=B. C. 268. So, it is more reasonable to accept, that he died at the age of 88. It is possible that the original number in the manuscript must have been 88, out of which the digit in the unit's place must have worn away in course of time. The scribe must have hence written down 80, just for want of any clear digit.

In the commentaries of Amarakoś Agnimita has been described as a Chakravarti—i. e. an all-powerful king. An account of his life justifies this description. He was a powerful and valorous king with a masterful personality. As marks of his brilliant rule, two Aśvamedha sacrifices were performed by him under the supervision of Patañjali, the royal preceptor. The account of Kalki—it will be given later—as given in the Purāṇās, agrees in all respects with the account of Agnimitra.

Agnimitra

We shall now turn to the question whether B. C. 181 or A. M. 346 was the year of the death of Kalki or whether that was the year in which the title "Kalki" was assumed by him, after performing some notable acts of valour. On it depends the fixation of the dates of the rule of the Śunga dynasty.

We have already stated above that the rule of the Śunga dynasty, and so of Agnimitra the first actual king, began in A. M. 323 or B. C. 204. His rule lasted for 30 years, i. e. he died in 353 A. M. Now the name Kalki came to light in 346 A. M., as we have already calculated above. The Purāṇās have stated that Agnimitra lived for nearly eight years[14] after he performed the second Aśvamedha sacrifice. So he must have performed this sacrifice in 346 A. M. then must have assumed the title of Kalki. In short, Agnimitra performed the second Aśvamedha sacrifice in 346 A. M.=181 B. C. and thenceforth the Jaina writers have described him as Kalki.

Agnimitra died in A. M. 353 or B. C. 174 at the age of 86. This means that he was born in[15] 267 A. M. = B. C. 260. We have given below the main dates of his life:—

	A. M.	B. C.	Age	Period for which he held the position.
Birth.	267	260	0	0 years
Kingship:-(1) during the regency of his father.	323 to 339	204 to 188	56 to 72	16 years

(14) See f. n. no. 16 below and the matter concerning it.

(15) Cf. f. n. no. 13 above,

(2) as an independent ruler.	339 to 353	188 to 174	72 to 86	14 years.
Assumption of the title, "Kalki"	346	181	79	7 years[16]
Death	353	174	86	

It has been stated about Vasumitra that at a particular time –the time when he came into power–in the life of Pusymitra his age was twenty[17]. According to some Purāṇās he lived for seven years after this[18]; while according to others he lived for ten years.[19] Let us fix this particular time. It can be any one of the following:–

Vasumitra

	Birth	Death
(1) When Pusyamitra became commander-in-chief B. C. 226	B. C. 246 A. M. 281	B. C. 219 or 216 A. M. 308 or 311
(2) When Pusyamitra retired and Agnimitra came to the throne in B. C. 204	B. C. 224 A. M. 303	B. C. 197 to 194 A. M. 330 to 333
(3) When Pusyamitra died and Agnimitra became independent king in B. C. 188	B. C. 208 A. M. 319	B. C. 181 to 178 A. M. 346 to 349

Now we have to decide which of the above three dates are true. Let us take the first dates, viz. birth in B. C. 246. His father Agnimitra himself was born in 260 B. C. So in B. C. 246 he must have been only fourteen, and he must have married at the age of twelve. This is far from acceptable. Again, if we accept that he was born in B. C. 246, his death must have taken place at the latest in B. C. 216, taking into consideration that his life lasted for not more than thirty years. Now this could not have been the case; because he was alive, when after ascending

(16) Bh. S. I. pp. 225, "Agnimitra, the son of Pusyamitra ruled for eight years only." Cf. f. n. no. 26 below.

(17) J. B. O. R. S. vol. 13, pp. 240 to pp. 250.

(18) Vide Supra.

(19) Read further.

the throne in B. C. 204. Agnimitra became a sovereign emperor. Turning to the second set of dates, the year of his birth seems to be unobjectionable enough; but we have to reject it when we take into consideration the propriety of the year of his death, which would be at the latest B. C. 194. He has been proved to have been living nearly six years after B. C. 149, i. e. in B. C. 188, when Puṣyamitra died and Agnimitra became independent king. According to the third set of dates, he was born in B. C. 208 and he died at the latest in B. C. 178. Details given in the account of Agnimitra will prove that these dates are correct and that they satisfy all conditions. The incidents which go to prove the correctness of these dates will be described in detail there; but they may be mentioned below:—(1) The fights of Vasumitra with the Yavana chiefs on pitched battle-field; his victory in the first battle; while his defeat and death in the second. (2) His infatuation for the Yavana princess. (3) Incidents concerning the Aśvamedha sacrifice; and so on. So we come to the conclusion that Vasumitra was born in B. C. 208. It is not certain whether he died in B. C. 181 or in B. C. 178. We can arrive at a certain measure of accuracy and definiteness by basing our calculations on the following incident. As far as our information goes, Vasumitra was not alive in B. C. 181, when Agnimitra completed the second Aśvamedha sacrifice and assumed the title "Kalki". We might try to find out at what time exactly he died. The performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice had to let loose the sacrificial horse, a year before the beginning of the actual ceremony. The horse was led round the whole world, and the heir-apparent of the performer, or in his absence the nearest blood-relation, followed the horse and protected it. Vasumitra thus followed the sacrificial horse. When he reached the banks of the Sutalaj, the Yavana chiefs hindered the progress of the horse. Consequently, a battle took place; (The second incident of the two, mentioned above), in which Vasumitra lost his life. Agnimitra himself invaded the Yavanas, defeated them and then completed the Aśvamedha sacrifice. So year of Vasumitra's death can be fixed up as B. C. 181, in which three important events took place one after another;

namely, in the beginning of B. C. 181 Vasumitra died while fighting against the Yavanas; immediately after that, Agnimitra invaded and defeated the Yavanas; a little later he completed the sacrifice and assumed the title Kalki. We can have from this some idea of the prowess of Agnimitra and of the resisting power of the Yavanas.

The reader will note from the calculations and conclusions stated above, that Vasumitra died at the age of 27 and not at the age of 30. The Jaina writers have not mentioned his name in the dynastic list of the Śunga kings, because, as the reader now can clearly understand, that he never actually ascended the throne. He died during the life time of his father. We can arrange his main dates as follow:—

	A. M.	B. C.	Age	Period for which he enjoyed the position
Birth	319	208	0	0
As heir-apparent (when Puṣyamitra died and Agnimitra became independent king).	339	188	20	7
Death	346	181	27	0

Thus we have clarified the dates of Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra and of Vasumitra. For these thirty years, Agnimitra alone ruled as the king de Jure, while both Puṣyamitra[20] and Vasumitra,

(20) J. O. B. R. S. vol. XX, no. 3 and 4, pp. 301:—"Senāpatisya tṛtaya' means, "the third from its Senāpati" like the expression "Senāpateh Puṣyamitrasya Ṣaṣṭhena" of the Ayodhya Inscription.

The quotation is taken from Pandit Jayaswāl's account of the coins of Sumitra, who has described himself as the third from "Senāpati" Puṣyamitra. This proves that Puṣyamitra was the first person in the dynasty, but he was never anything more than a commander-in-chief. Sumitra's own description is evidence enough.

Now this Sumitra will have to be placed somewhere in the Śunga dynasty; probably it was another name of Sujyeṣṭha who must have assumed it to preserve the continuity of each Śunga king having "mitra" at the end of his name. Read further.

though they wielded positions of power, were only his helpers, the first as regent and the second as heir-apparent. Agnimitra was the first Śunga king de Jure and ruled for the first thirty years of the Śunga rule. Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar has described them as contemporary rulers. Agnimitra was succeeded by Odrak or Balamitra, who can thus be called the second Śunga king. Five kings succeeded him one after another, thus making the total number of Śunga kings to have been seven. Śunga rule thus began from B. C. 204, when began the rule of Agnimitra. Puṣyamitra and he alone—, can be described as the Śungabhṛtya king.

We know that six kings came to the throne after Agnimitra. Their rule lasted for 60 years in the aggregate.

The remaining kings

No event of any importance seems to have taken place during these years. A rock-inscription[21], however, deserves our notice as it leads to some tangible results. One of these kings, Odrak by name, has got two rock-inscriptions erected, one during the tenth year of his reign and the other during the fourteenth[22]. This means that Odraka's reign must have lasted at least 15 years. Mr. Vincent Smith, in the third edition of E. H. I. states that a certain king, named Bhāgavat, belonging to this dynasty, ruled for 32 years[23]. The Jaina writers, as we have already seen, have given only two names—Balamitra and Bhānumitra—for all these sixty years. It is just probable that, Bhāg,—the name goes to the credit of the Purāṇās—, and Bhāgavat—the name given by Mr. Vincent Smith, and Bhānumitra—the name filtering from the Jaina books—, may have been names of the same individual. The Greek history[24], on the other hand tells us that Menander was engaged in a battle with some Śunga king in B. C. 150-154. As we have already shown above, no particular writer is wrong; each has written from a particular view-point; and to glean the grains of truth we have to try to understand the view-point of the writer; the apparent

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(21) See the rock-inscriptions of Kauśāmbī-Prabhās; see f. n. no. 22 below.

(22) Vide C. H. I. pp. 522.

(23) See the dynastic lists below.

(24) Vide further for the account of Menander.

differences, then, will melt away of their own accord. Hence, we come to the conclusion that the king who succeeded Agnimitra, was named Balamitra, and that he ruled for seventeen years. Bhānumitra succeeded Bālamitra, and ruled for the remaining 15 years, thus making a total of 32 years between Balamitra and himself. Then we can easily fix up Bhānumitra as a contemporary of Menander. (Vide his account). The remaining four kings may be given the remaining 28 years.

The dynastic list of the Śungas[25]—including that of Śunga-bhṛtya—is given below:—

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(25) The dynastic lists with details about them are given below:—

(i) Mr. Pargiter's list, based on the evidence of many Purāṇās; P. K. List pp. 70.

Puṣyamitra	36	
Agnimitra	8	
Sujyeṣṭha	7	
Vasumitra	10	(See f. n. no. 19 above).
Āndhrak	2	
Pulindik	3	
Ghoṣ	3	
Vajramitra	9	
Bhāgavat	32	
Devbhūti	10	
	120	

(ii) Mr. Vincent Smith; E. H. I. Third Edition, pp. 204; f. n. no. 1:—

Puṣyamitra	36
Agnimitra	8
Vasumitra	10
Āndhrak	2
Pulindik	3
Ghoṣ	3
Vajramitra	9
Bhāgavat	32
Devbhūti	10
	113

(iii) C. H. I. pp. 118; the list is the same as given by Mr. Pargiter, (List (i) above).

Name	A. M.	B. C.	Years		Remarks
Śungabhṛtya	301-323	226-204	22		
Puṣyamitra	301-323 323-339	226-204 204-218	22 16	38	As the commander-in-chief of the Maurya kings. Śungabhṛtya in retirement.

(iv) "Buddhiprakāś" vol. 76, pp. 88; the list arranged by Diwan Bahādur Keśavalāl Harṣadarāy Dhruv, after his research work upon Vāyupurāṇ:—

Puṣyamitra	37
Agnimitra	30
Sujyeṣṭha	7
Vasumitra	7
Pulindik	3
Ghoṣ	3
Vasumitra	7
Odrak	7
Devbhūti	10
	111

(v) J. A. S. B. vol. 49 (1880), part I. pp. 21 to 29; Mr. A. C. Carlyle of the Indian Archeological Survey, has given the following list of the kings of "Mitra" dynasty. The list is based on a study of coins unearthed by him. The reader has to understand that the names given by him are not in order of succession. He has given these names as he found them upon the coins. He has given no details about the "Mitra" dynasty, nor even suggested any connection between it and the Śunga dynasty. (The Persian kings also boast of descent from the Raghu dynasty of Dilipa. Their names also end in "Mitra").

1 Puṣyamitra
2 Bhadraghoṣ
3 Sūryamitra
4 Anumitra
5 Bhānumitra
6 Agnimitra
7 Fālgunimitra
8 Bhūmimitra
9 Indramitra
10 Vijayamitra
11 Satyamitra
12 Sayamitra
13 Āyumitra
14 Dhruvamitra

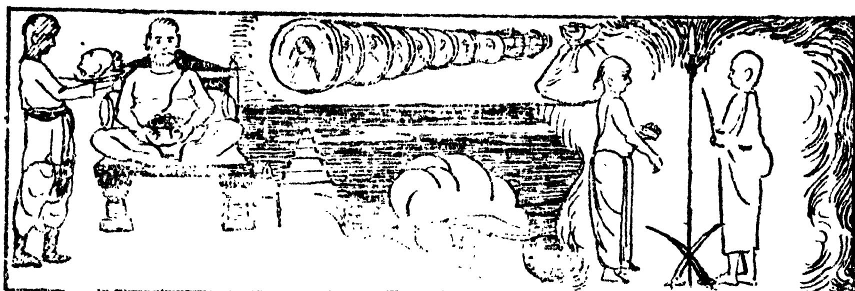
Mr. Carlyle himself has not seen the coin of Dhruvamitra. He has stated that Mr. Cunningham had seen it.

ŚUNGA DYNASTY 323-413 204-114 90

Name	A. M.	B. C.	Years	
(1) Agnimitra: The founder of the Śunga dynasty				
(a) during the life-time of Pusyamitra	323-339	204-188	16	
(b) As an independent king[26] but without any title.	339-346	188-181	7	30
(c) As sovereign emperor with the title, Kalki.	346-353	181-174	7	
(Inclusive of)				
Heir-apparent Vasumitra.	339-346	187-181	7	
(2) Odrak alias Bālamitra.	353-370	174-157	17	32
(3) Bhāg alias Bhāgavat alias Bhānumitra.	370-385	157-142	15	
(4) Sujyestha alias Sumitra[27]	385-392	142-135	7	
(5) Ghos[27]	392-396	135-131	4	28
(6) Vasumitra[27]	396-403	131-124	7	
(7) Devbhūti[27]	403-413	124-114	10	
				90

(26) See f. n. no. 16 above; for the first seven years he was an independent king without any title; for the next seven years he was a sovereign emperor with the title "Kalki".

(27) We have given 28 years in the aggregate to these four kings. The years assigned to the first three kings are liable to change, as we have no conclusive piece of evidence to settle them with a ring of finality about them. The last king, Devbhūti, had, however, definitely 10 years of rule.



Chapter II

Synopsis:—*Details about the origin and birth of Puṣyamitra —His devotedness to his religion and his zeal for religious propaganda—*

(1) Emperor Khārvel of Kaling; (2) Śrīmukh, the founder of the Āndhra dynasty; (3) Menander-Merander, the Yavan chief; (4) Bṛhaspatimitra, the Magadha emperor; these four have been stated to have been contemporaries of Puṣyamitra by historians; a detailed discussion of it and reference to vol. I. pp. 151 and seq. ...

Details about Patañjali and Puṣyamitra and their religious propaganda;—Origin of Patañjali—The time when he flourished; Character studies of both—Comparison as regards some incidents of their lives.

PUṢYAMITRA

Śungabhṛtya Puṣyamitra

We have already explained that Puṣyamitra himself cannot be included in the list of Śunga kings. So, in an account of the Śunga dynasty, his account cannot appropriately be incorporated. He was, however, mainly instrumental in wresting power from the Mauryas. In an account of the origin of the dynasty, some details of his life would not only be proper to be given but also necessary.

Several details about him have already been given in the chapter on the decline of the Maurya dynasty, and several others will be given while writing the accounts of Patañjali and Agnimitra.

Little information is available about his native-place. The pieces of information at hand are as follow: A writer says:—[1], "Puṣyamitra belonged to Śunga dynasty, a branch of the Bharadvaja clan of Brahmins." Another writer[2] has stated on the authority of Purāṇās:—" At the time when Kaliyuga would be about to end, God Vishnu will be born in the form of Kalki[3] of the Brahmin Vishnusharma, the headman of the village named Shambhala, for the protection of religion." (Vide Śrimad Bhāgavat, Skandh 12, Chap. 2, Pp. 1030-40). In the Buddhist sacred book, Divyāvadān XXIX, it has been stated that Puṣyamitra was the son of a certain Puṣpadharmā[4]. Different as the versions are of these writers about the name of the father of Puṣyamitra, they are unanimous in the thing that Puṣyamitra was a Brahmin by birth. The Śunga kings may reasonably be described as the followers of the Vedic religion.

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(1) Vide Ind. Hist. Quarterly, vol. V, pp. 394.

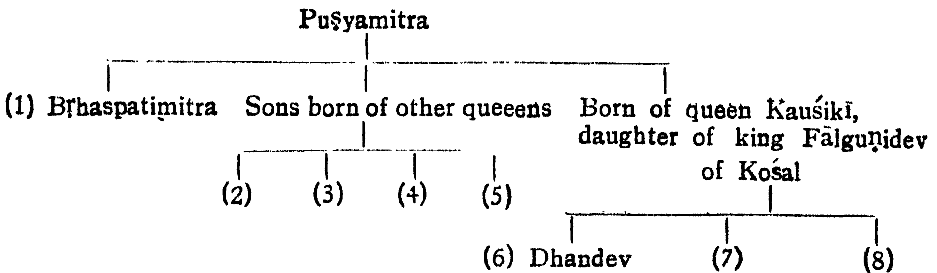
(2) Vide "Nāgarī Prachāriṇi Sabhā's Patrikā"—a Quarterly, vol. X, part IV, pp. 620, f. n. no. 31.

(3) So, this writer holds the opinion that Puṣyamitra himself bore the title "Kalki." For details about this question the reader is referred to the account of Kalki given later on.

(4) Vide "Nāgarī Prachāriṇi Patrikā," vol. X, part IV, pp. 618, f. n. given there.

Whether he had any other sons besides Agnimitra or whether he led a monogamous or polygamous life, is not known. A writer, however, says[5]:—" He had eight sons. The name of one of them was Bṛhaspatimitra. The sixth son, named Dhandev, was born of Kauśiki, the daughter of Falgudev, the king of Kośal." How far this statement is true, we have no means to decide. Turning to the question of his native place, a writer, quoted above, has said that he was born in Śambhal. We have, again, no further data to locate its situation. The event stated below may help us to come to some definite conclusion on this question. When Śātakaraṇi II of the Āndhra dynasty, the seventh in the line, invaded Avantī, defeated Vṛṣabhasen and killed him, he seated his son on the throne and appointed Puṣyamitra as the commander-in-chief. It is difficult to decide whether he had brought Puṣyamitra with him at the time of the invasion or whether Puṣyamitra was called to the place after the battle had taken place. He was no doubt, a trusted agent of the Śātakaraṇi king and probably their native place must have been common. Several events go to connect into close alliance the lives of Patañjali, the Śātakaraṇi king and of Puṣyamitra. It would not be unreasonable, therefore, to come to the conclusion that they hailed from the same place, namely, from the region encircled by the sources of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā. The region was known at that time as " Goverdhan ". (Vide further the account of Patañjali). The three persons belonged to the

(5) J. B. O. R. S. vol. XIII, pp. 240 to 250.



We can say, which of these sons succeeded Puṣyamitra and assumed the name Agnimitra. Probably he was Dhandev (no. 6).

same religion. It will thus become clear to the reader that Puṣyamitra's first master was the Āndhra king, and the second masters, by the virtue of his appointment, the Maurya kings, whom he served for twenty two years. So instead of calling himself, first "Āndhra-bhṛtya" and then " Maurya-bhṛtya ", he probably preferred calling himself "Śungabhṛtya"; or, more probably, the historians gave him that name, for the sake of preserving uniformity and of avoiding any ambiguity.

He had entrusted his son Agnimitra, with a responsible post in the army, when events moved to a crisis in 204 B. C., the father and the son seized the opportunity, killed the last Maurya king, Bṛhadrath, and became masters of Avantī[6] in B. C. 204 =A. M. 323.

The Śunga kings were religious zealots and some of them almost begots. The first kings were encouraged by Patañjali and the rest just followed the footsteps of their predecessors. Their ministers were all Brahmins—the historians have called them Kaṇvas-Jainism, which had its brightest time during the rule of Priyadarśin, began to suffer, and that too, not to an ordinary extent. The Śramaṇās—the Jaina preachers—were especially made the victims of severe repression. Jainism, during the rule of the Śungas, had a rapid and great fall.[7] (Details will be given later-on). So much about the stain on the dynasty. It should, however, be stated to their credit, that they had effectively checked the frequent invasions of foreigners from the north-west, during the rule of Vṛṣabhsen the Maurya king. Kāśmīr, a part of the Punjāb and Muthurā, in north India, were wrested from Vṛṣabhsen; but the Śungas cannot be blamed for that.

Scholars are of the opinion that the following persons were contemporaries of Puṣyamitra:-[1] (1) Emperor Khārvel of Kaling;

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(6) In "Mālvikāgnimitram" it is stated that the seat of Agnimitra's capital was "Vidiśā." (Vide "Buddhiprakāś" vol. 76, pp. 96, lines 16–18).

(7) There has been found an interregnum of a century and a half in the history of the Jaina monks in line from Mahāvīr. The religious fanaticism of the Śungas was responsible for this.

(2) Śrīmukh, the founder of the Āndhra dynasty; (3) Menander, the Yavana chief; (4) a certain Bṛhaspatimitra, the king of Magadh, (his dynasty is not known). (5) the famous grammarian, Patañjali. This question demands close scrutiny of all students of history. On it depends the fixation of the dates of many an important event in Indian history.

Contemporaries

Let us, then, start with Khārvel of Kaling and Bṛhaspatimitra, and see whether they could have trodden our mundane earth when Pusyamitra inhabited it. The scholars are not at all definite about the dynasty of Bṛhaspatimitra, or about his time[8]. Evidence based on coins and inscription is always more to be taken into account than that supported by books or by legends. It is stated in the Hāthigumfā inscription by Khārvel,[9] "Khārvel invaded Magadh and laid siege to Rajgṛh and that four years later, he captured the royal palace (at Pāṭaliputra) and made the Raja of Magadh fall at his feet." It is also stated on the other hand[10]:—"Bṛhaspati is the master of the constellation named Puṣya. So "Bṛhaspati" and "Puṣya" are words having the same meaning and can be used as duplicate of each other. So Bṛhaspatimitra was none other than Puṣyamitra; hence Bṛhaspatimitra, who was defeated by Khārvel, was Puṣyamitra himself." It is, again, stated (Details given later on) that Puṣyamitra, the king of Avantī[11], invaded Pāṭliputra, the capital of Magadh, defeated the king and carried fire and sword through the city. This proves that Puṣyamitra was quite a different individual from the king of Magadh. Thus we see that the statements that, on the one hand, the king defeated by Khārvel bore two names, viz. Puṣyamitra and Bṛhaspatimitra; and on the other hand,

(8) Cf. f. n. no. 24 below.

(9) Vide Ind. His. Quarterly, vol. V, pp. 587.

(10) Vide J. B. O. R. S. vol. XIII, pp. 244–50.

(11) C. H. I. pp. 518:—"It is with the kingdom of Vidiśā that the Śungas are especially associated with the literature and inscriptions." This shows that the Śunga's seat of capital was in Avantī beyond doubt.

that Puṣyamitra, the king of Avantī, invaded and defeated Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh, are mutually incompatible and belie each other.

These contradictions go to prove that (1) Bṛhaspatimitra, who was defeated by Khārvel was quite a different individual from Puṣyamitra; (2) that Khārvel and Puṣyamitra were not contemporaries, (3) and that Khārvel and Bṛhaspatimitra were certainly contemporaries, as is testified by the rock-inscription[12], (for further proofs vide Vol. I, Pp. 325 & 355, and specially Vol. IV, the account of Khārvel).

Not only Khārvel and Puṣyamitra were not contemporaries but there elapsed a number of years between them. Khārvel was by many years a predecessor of Puṣyamitra. It is stated in J. O. B. R. S. Vol. XIII, Pp. 240-50 (see F. N. 16 below), on the authority of Amarakośa:—"After Puṣyamitra, his son Agnimitra became the emperor of India. He has been called " Chakravarti ", sovereign emperor in the commentaries of Amarakośa. The coins of Agnimitra and Bṛhaspatimitra are very similar; the coins of the latter are believed to be earlier than those of the former[13]. Bṛhaspatimitra was related to the kings of Ahicchatra. The Kośama-pabhosā inscriptions state that the Ahicchatras were Brahmins."[14] From this quotation, we conclude that (1) Agnimitra was a sovereign emperor; (2) though the coins of Agnimitra and Bṛhaspatimitra are apparently similar, yet on close scrutiny, the coins of the latter are of earlier origin than that of the former. Their similarity might be taken as indicative of their having

(12) Khārvel lived from B. C. 429 to 393=A. M. 98 to 134; and Bṛhaspatimitra or Nand VIII lived from B. C. 417 to 414; while Puṣyamitra's time is 204 B. C. (An interval of nearly 175 years).

(13) "Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhak", part III, pp. 378, f. n. no. 16. We have also proved the same thing; because Bṛhaspatimitra lived in B. C. 417. (Vol. I, pp. 326). Puṣyamitra, on the other hand, lived in B. C. 204.

(14) This is accepted by reputed European historians. (Paṇḍit Jayasvāl; and Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhak, part II, pp. 373).

ruled over the same territory[15]; but the differences between them clearly point to a certain period having elapsed between them. Now, if we accept that Bṛhaspatimitra and Puṣyamitra denote the same individual, we cannot maintain that there was a pretty long interval of time between Bṛhaspatimitra and Agnimitra, because Agnimitra was the immediate successor of Puṣyamitra. Now we can be definite about the fact that the coins of Bṛhaspatimitra are of much earlier origin than those of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra[16].

All the arguments stated above, obviously lead to the conclusion that Khārvel flourished much earlier than Puṣyamitra, and that they could not have been contemporaries by any stretch of imagination. Some one might launch an argument in the following manner. It is all right that Khārvel defeated Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh, as is stated in the Hāthigumfā inscriptions. Then Khārvel may well be called the master and ruler of Magadh. Then, is it not plausible enough to believe that Puṣyamitra of Avantī may have invaded Khārvel after he became master of Magadh ? If you grant the plausibility of this supposition, you will also have to admit that Puṣyamitra and Khārvel were contemporaries. To any student of history, this argument would sound as coming from one, who is a layman in the field of history. Even when Khārvel was the emperor of Kaling only and not the master of Magadh as he subsequently became, Puṣyamitra could not have dared raise a finger against him. Any talk of his being invaded after his conquest of Magadh[17] by a petty chief

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(15) A. C. I. pp. 79, (by Sir Cunningham), "I incline rather to assign the coins (bearing the name of Agnimitra) to a local dynasty of princes as they are very rarely found beyond the limits of North Panchāl."

(16) A. C. I. pp. 81, (by Sir Cunningham):—"The coin (Plate no. VII, fig. 1 & 2 of Bṛhaspatimitra) is earlier than any of the Mitras." This means that it is earlier than any king of the Ṣunga dynasty, whose name ends in "Mitra." Cf. f. n. no. 13 above.

(17) Vide the account of Khārvel; there is given the map showing the extent of his territory. Compare it with the map showing the extent of the territory of Puṣyamitra. This is only one of the proofs against the possibility

like Puṣyamitra would be nothing more than futile. Puṣyamitra would have found it impossible to attack even any region of the empire further from the capital. This definitely proves that Khārvel and Puṣyamitra were not contemporaries.

We have now proved that neither Khārvel nor Bṛhaspatimitra was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. Let us now take up the question of Śrimukh. The Hāthigumfā inscription plainly tells us that Śrimukh and Khārvel were contemporaries. Hence it naturally and logically follows that Śrimukh and Puṣyamitra did not flourish at the same time. Scholars have submitted themselves to the following laughable and contradictory contentions. On the one hand, they say that Śrimukh and Puṣyamitra were contemporaries. On the other hand, they say that the prime-minister of Devbhūti, the last descendent of Puṣyamitra, killed his mater and founded the Kanva dynasty; and that Suśarman, the last of the Kanva dynasty was killed by Śrimukh who then founded the Āndhra dynasty and became the ruler of Avantī also[18]. These contentions lead one to the inevitable conclusion that Śrimukh was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra as well as of Suśarman, the last of the Kanvās. His reign is said to have lasted for 36 years according to the authorities on this period. But if we accept the contentions stated above, he must have lived for, 25 years to be the contemporary of Puṣyamitra + 90 years of the Śunga dynasty + 45 years of the Kanvās+36 years of his own rule=196 years. This is absurd. Śrimukh could in no sense have been a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. So neither Khārvel, nor Śrimukh nor Bṛhaspatimitra could have inhabited this globe at the time when Puṣyamitra had the honour to occupy it. (Details are given in the account of Khārvel; some of them are also given in Vol. I, Pp. 151 to 155.)

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of Puṣyamitra and Khārvel having been contemporaries. Many others are all in the account of Khārvel.

(18) C. A. R. Pre. LXIV, 58:—"The four Purāṇās which have been thus independently examined for the purpose of this introduction (I. e. for the purpose of looking into the origin of the Āndhra dynasty), agree in stating that first of the Āndhra kings rose to power by slaying Suśarman, the last of the Kaṇvas."

We now turn to the question of the possibility of Menander or Merander and Puṣyamitra having been contemporaries. According to the Greek history, Menander was connected with the Greek king Eucratides (B. C. 160); and he ruled over the Indian territory during the time of Heliocles (B. C. 130)[19], the son of Eucratides[20]. Now Pusyamitra flourished from B. C. 226 to 188. These dates make it clear that Puṣyamitra was not probably a contemporary of Eucratides, not to talk of his son Heliocles. Demetrius, the illustrious predecessor and master of Eucratides, was certainly a contemporary of Puṣyamitra.[21] In short, Menander ruled over the Indian territory forty years after the death of Puṣyamitra. This settles definitely the fact that they were not contemporaries, in any sense of the term.

The arguments stated above will convince the reader that the contention, that Khārvel, Śrimukh of Āndhra, Bṛhaspatimitra of Magadh and the foreign chief Menander[22] were contemporaries of Puṣyamitra is ill-founded and wrong. The following statement is found on P. 394 of Ind. His. Quarterly, Volume V[23]:—" Most of the writers (A notable exception is H. Roy. Chaudhary, Pol. His. Pp. 199–201) on the Śunga period are of the opinion that Khārvel was a contemporary to Puṣyamitra; the arguments of scholars like Messrs Rapson, Jayaswal, and Stenkonow, who recognize Khārvel as a contemporary to Puṣyamitra, demand a careful scrutiny." As for the authenticity of the dates given by us, we have only to state that they are based on irrefutable and universally accredited pieces of evidence like those of coins

(19) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. 13, pp. 245, and the list given further on in this volume.

(20) The list of names and dates is given in the chapter on foreign invaders.

(21) Ind. His. Quarterly, vol. V, pp. 404:—"The career of Demetrius practically came to an end soon after B. C. 175,"

(22) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 214:—"The words of Patanjali in which he abides to the horse–sacrifice of Puṣyamitra, when read with other relevant passages, permit of no doubt, that the grammarian was the contemporary of that king, as well as of the Greek invader, presumed to be Menander."

(23) The writer of this article is Śrī Rāmprasād Chandāji.

and inscriptions. They can only be proved wrong if the coins and inscriptions are denounced as worthless forgeries, which they are not. Even then, every one is welcome to state reasons in suport of any contention to the contrary. We, in short, state with conviction based on evidence, that emperor Khārvel, Bṛhaspatimitra[24] and Śrimukh were contemporaries; this the Hāthigumfā inscription tells us definitely. Puṣyamitra was not a contemporary either of these three or of Menander, who lived much later than Puṣyamitra, just as the first three lived much earlier than he.[25]

Patanjali and Puṣyamitra

Some scholars are of the opinion that Patañjali, the famous author of "Mahābhāṣya" was a native of Gonard, situated near Bengal[26]. Some other scholars[27] hold the view that the province of Oudh in northern India was his native place. If we accept that Gonard was but another name of Kāśmīr[28], Patañjali could be said to be the native of Kāśmīr, just as the famous trio consisting of Pāṇini, Chāṇakya and Varaūchi hailed from Gāndhār[29]. Be that as it may, one thing is certain; and that is, that Avantī was not the native place of Patañjali—Avantī where he won renown and respect; just the same thing happened with that famous trio; Magadh, where they earned fame and

(24–25) In the Hāthīgumfā inscription there is no mention whatsoever of Puṣyamitra. As the scholars, however, could not settle Bṛhaspatimitra anywhere on solid historical basis, they rather came to the conclusion that Bṛhaspatimitra was but another name of Puṣyamitra, taking support of the astronomical fact that Bṛhaspati was the master of the constellation named "Puṣya".

We have shown in these pages, and also in vol. I, pp. 151 to 155 that this theory is contrary to truth.

(26) Patanjali, a contemporary of Menander (we have proved that this is impossible) and Puṣyamitra, was a native of Gonard in eastern India. (Chronology of India by Duffe, pp. 17).

(27) Patanjali, a native of Oudh. (R. A. S. 1877, pp. 221).

(28) Vide vol. I, pp. 332 and vol. II, pp. 174.

(29) We have made certain changes in this connection, when more details were found out. (Vol. II, pp. 130 and seq.)

honour, was not their native place. One thing, however, deserves notice here:—The famous writer Vākpatirāj[30], who flourished in the 8th century A. D., and who was a contemporary and protege of Yaśodharman, the king of Gwāliar, states in his book named Gauḍvaho—an account of the death of the king of a region named Gauḍ—that he was a native of certain city named Laksṇāvatī. This Laksṇāvatī was the capital of Gauḍ, which was a region about source of the Godāvarī, as it amply becomes clear from its description. When we go through the book, we find that this Yaśodharman had to wage war against Dharmapāl, the king of Gauḍ situated in the east of Bengal. We can conclude from this, that there were two regions bearing the name "Gauḍ," one in the east of Bengal and the other about the source of the Godāvārī in Dakṣiṇāpath. Now Patañjali is known as the native of Gauḍ. If the details stated above are true, southern India could also be said to be the native place of Patañjali. The information to our command inclines us towards placing him in the south rather than in the east or the north, because he was probably the preceptor who conducted the Aśvamedha sacrifice performed by Śātakaraṇi II, king of Dakṣiṇāpath (For details vide Vol. IV, the account of Āndhra). After the death of Śātakaraṇi, his successors gave up the Vedic religion and re-adopted their old family religion. Then Patañjali went to Avanti, and lived there under the patronage of Puṣyamitra, who performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices under his tutelage.

European scholars have fixed his time to have been about B. C. 150-140[31]. In one of the Jaina books [32], it is stated that he lived about 175 B. C. Now Śātakaraṇi II lived from B. C.

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(30) Some details about this are given further under the description of Mathurā. Chap. VI, part VI.

(31) E. H. I. Third edition, pp. 214:—"The date of Patanjali is fixed to B. C. 150-140 in round numbers."

R. A. S. (1877) pp. 208:—According to Prof. Weber, his time was B. C. 160; according to Prof. Goldstuker, it was B. C. 140-20; and according to Prof. Bhānḍārkar it was from B. C. 144-142.

(32) Vide "Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhak, vol. III, part IV. pp. 373.

281 to 225-6=56 years[33]; and Puṣyamitra lived from B. C. 204 to 188=16 years. Patañjali, therefore, who has been proved above to have been a contemporary of those two, must also have lived from B. C. 270 to 180=90 years.

The data collected by us lead us to fix his native place in Dakṣiṇāpath, near the source of the Godāvarī. This region was at that time called Govardhan[34] Samaya—"Samaya" means district. He was probably a Brahmin. Bred up in the atmosphere of the hilly region of Nāsik and Tryambak, he had had a fine opportunity to make himself well-versed in the Vedas. His religious zeal was given an impetus by king Śātakaraṇi II of Āndhra, who hailed from Paiṭhaṇ. Later on he conducted the Aśvamedha sacrifice which was performed by Śātakaraṇi.

Ten years before these things happened, the greatest and the most powerful Jaina emperor—Priyadarśin—had died. He was succeeded on the throne by his heir-apparent—Vṛṣabhasen by name. He was a young man of haughty temperament. His youth was spent in cold countries like Afganistan and Śistān; and so the haughtiness was aggrevated. When he ascended the throne and thus became the master of a vast empire, his haughtiness took the form of religious fanaticism[35]. He plunged himself heart and soul into severe persecution of those, who refused to accept the royal religion. This was naturally resented by Śātakaraṇi II, a staunch and equally fanatic follower of the Vedic religion. So he began a reign of terror upon those, who were co-religionists of Vṛṣabhasen. As a result of this religious rivalry, Śātakaraṇi invaded Avantī and defeated Vṛṣabhasen and killed him. Avantī came under the power of the Āndhra king[36], (A. M. 301=B. C. 226). In celebration of his victory, the Āndhra king performed Aśvamedha sacrifice in Vidiśā, the capital of Avantī, under the tutelage of Patañjali. The people of Vidisā

(33) Vide further in the account of the Āndhra dynasty.

(34) See the Nāśik rock-inscriptions concerning Nahapāṇ.

(35) Vide his account, vol. II, pp. 371 and seq.

(36) Vide chap. VI, vol. II, part III.

were compelled to defray the expenses of the sacrifice. In commemoration of the event, a pillar was erected with inscription on it[37]. A descendant of the dead Maurya king was given the throne, and he was forced to submit to the vassalage[38]. Puṣyamitra was appointed as his prime-minister and commander-in-chief. Thus he avenged himself for his insult[39], (details given in his account in the chapters on Āndhra dynasty), and then returned to his own country. Shortly after this, Śātakaraṇi, who had by this time reached a ripe old age, died in 226 B. C. Puṣyamitra grew more and more powerful over the weak Maurya kings, and became the ruler de facto, calling himself Āndhrabhṛtya all the while, (B. C. 226). By this time he had already entrusted his son Agnimitra with a responsible post in the army.

The descendants of Śātakaraṇi II, who succeeded him on the throne, continued the policy of religious repression. Thus the Vedic religion was forced on the people both in Āndhra and in Avanti, where Puṣyamitra only too zealously propagated it among them. Aśvamedha sacrifices were frequently performed in both the kingdoms. Resentment and spirit of revolt, however, grew among the people of Āndhra, who became restive under this

(37) Read the inscription on Sānchi Stūpa.

(38) It was not a custom in those times to annex the territory that was conquered. (Cf. vol. I, pp. 260 and 345); (the policy of Śreṇik).

(39) Later researches have revealed that Priyadarśin had defeated his father. He himself was not defeated. So he avenged his father.

See the inscription on lake Sudarśan, which is believed to have been carved by Rudradāman, but for which Priyadarśin is really responsible. (For details, vide vol. II, pp. 352 to 356).

(40) Apparently he was a servant of the Maurya emperors; while really speaking he was a servant of the Āndhra kings. He has been known as "Śungabhṛtya" mainly, because he was a servant of one dynasty or another. (Pp. 3, f. n. no. 5). In the same manner, the Āndhras were at first servants of Khārvel, the king of Chedi. Then they became servants of Nāga-Nanda dynasty. Later on, they were under the service of Maurya kings, Chandragupta and Bindusār. They found it inconvenient to append "Bhṛtya" to so many dynasties. So they became known by the general name "Āndhra-bhṛtya". The name "Śunga-bhṛtya" had the same history.

repressive regime. The Āndhra kings, as soon as they became aware of it, effected a change in their policy. They discarded the Vedic religion, and reverted to the religion of their fore-fathers. So Patañjali found himself stranded in Dakṣiṇāpath. In the meantime he was invited to go to Avanti by Puṣyamitra. The Andhra kings adopted the policy of religious tolerance and freedom; but in the north, Puṣyamitra continued the old policy, because the Maurya kings were mere puppets in his hands. Puṣyamitra, moreover, was a religious bigot and his bigotry was encouraged by Patañjali. Consequently, the people became very unhappy and restive. Having heard of this unsettled condition of central India, hoards of foreigners from the west, flooded India (Details will be given in the chapters on foreigners).

This kind of religious fanaticism and lust for power continued for nearly twenty years. In the meanwhile, there rose a powerful tide of foreign invasions from the west—a tide which Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra found very difficult to check. All the territories outside India, which were subjugated by Priyadarśin, were already lost. The things, however did not stop there. A state of rebellion prevailed over the whole of northern India. Territory after territory was lost. Within a short time, things came to such a pass that Avantī was reduced to a very small state with only a slice of its former boundaries[41]. Puṣyamitra at this time invited the Maurya king Bṛhadrath, to inspect the army. The historians say that while Bṛhadrath, mounted on the horse, was busy inspecting the army, Puṣyamitra[42] murdered him and became king himself[43],

(41) C. H. I. pp. 516:—"It seems however certain that the Śungas succeeded to a realm already greatly diminished. (We have no trustworthy guide for the period of its decline).

(42) We have come to the conclusion that the perpetrator of the murder was Agnimitra and not Puṣyamitra. The plan of the murder was probably pre-arranged. (Vide the account of Kalki).

(43) E. H. I. Third edition, pp. 198, f. n. no. 1:—After stating that the details given by the Purāṇās are supported by the poet Bāṇa, Mr. Smith continues further as follows:—" and reviewing the whole army under the pretext of showing him his forces, the base-born Anārya general Puṣyamitra crushed his master Bṛhadrath, the Maurya."

and that from that time onward he stopped calling himself Śuṅgabhṛtya and the rule of the Śuṅga dynasty began.

So long as Śātakaraṇi II was alive (A. M. 301 B. C. 226), Patañjali's power remained firmly established both over Avantī (B. C. 228 to 225) and Paiṭhaṇ (B. C. 236 to 226). After the death of Śātakaraṇi, and especially after his descendants changed the policy of religious persecution for that of religious tolerance, he found it safer to make a permanent stay in Avantī, where Puṣyamitra and his son Agnimitra were all powerful. So, when Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra seized the throne of Avantī, they invited Patañjali there; and the latter only too readily accepted the invitation. No sooner did Agnimitra ascend the throne, than he advised him to begin the Aśvamedha sacrifice—the first one–in order that his rule might last for a long time. The verses at the sacrifice were sung and recited in the name of Puṣyamitra, out of deference to him. Agnimitra, who was away from Avantī at this time, was informed of the performance, because as a king he ought to have been informed. Some years later, another Aśvamedha sacrifice was performed. By this time Puṣyamitra was dead. So this time the verses were recited in the name of Agnimitra. It was the custom for the heir—apparent to follow the sacrificial horse and to protect it everywhere. If there was no heir—apparent, the nearest relative had to undertake this task. So Vasumitra, the heir—apparent, was sent this time to follow the sacrificial horse. It is now clear, that the first Aśvamedha sacrifice was performed during the lifetime of Puṣyamitra, while Agnimitra was on the throne (about B. C. 189). The second was performed after the death of Puṣyamitra, seven years after Agnimitra became independent king and during the twenty–third year after he ascended the throne (B. C. 181). Vasumitra, the heir–apparent died during the twenty–second year of Agnimitra's reign. So he could not take a leading part in this second

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On pp. 45 of J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928, it is stated that he was called Anārya, in the Harṣacharita, printed in 1986 in the Nirṇayasāgar Press, because he killed his master. See f. n. no. 47 below.

sacrifice[44]. He died six months or a year before its actual performance.

We cannot say definitely the year in which Patañjali died. He probably died shortly after the completion of the second Aśvamedha sacrifice (in about 180 B. C.), at about the age of 95.

Comparative character-studies of Puṣyamitra & Patañjali

Puṣyamitra was born of a Brāhmin family of high order. That Mr. Vincent Smith and others have called him "base-born" seems to have been due to the reason that they believed him to be the murderer of Bṛhadrath. Really speaking, he did not actually commit the murder. He was, no doubt, mainly responsible for the murder, and had directed the whole conspiracy. Thus he was a successful conspirator and plotter. He began his career as an officer in the army and must have naturally been of a military temperament. Proud and insolent by nature, he firmly believed in ruling with a firm and severe hand. In all this he was encouraged by Patañjali, who advised him to perform Aśvamedha sacrifice—a sacrifice full of violence. Later on, however, during the period of his regency, he was a changed man in many respects, because, experience had taught him many a lesson, and like a good and sensible student, he had learnt them. He had then become cool-natured and had mastered the fact of having his aims and desires fulfilled. He had also learnt that the best way to maintain power was to rule in conformity with the wishes of the people. Agnimitra, who had remained in close contact with his father upto the latter's death, had acquired all these qualities; and so he became a powerful and successful ruler. Thus there is no doubt that Puṣyamitra was a statesman of the first order, though he never actually became king.

Patañjali, too, was born of a high Brāhmin family. He was a devoted lover of learning. He spared no pains to propagate the Vedic

(44) As the second sacrifice was begun in 182, Vasumitra followed the horse; but while he followed the horse, the horse was stopped. A battle followed in which he was killed. The sacrifice had to be postponed for some time and was completed in B. C. 181.

It is clear from this that Agnimitra alone performed all the rites of the sacrifice, because his son Vasumitra was dead.

religion. In this task he was fortunate enough to get powerful and willing helpers like Śatakarṇi and Puṣyamitra. Under his tutelage the Aśvamedha sacrifice was performed in Dakṣiṇāpath. Another was performed, as we have already described, in Vidiśā, after Śatakarṇi had conquered it. The third one was performed during the life-time of Puṣyamitra; and the fourth was performed several years after his death, in order to proclaim the paramountcy of Agnimitra. Thus he dedicated his life to the propagation of his religion, just as Priyadarśin did his life for Jainism. Their methods of propagation no doubt widely differed. For instance, Patañjali advised and caused Agnimitra to kill all the Śramaṇas individually and collectively as they were found and caught. European scholars say that these Śramaṇas were Buddhists. It may be that there might have been a small number of Buddhist Śramaṇas who were killed; but the majority were Jains[45]. Buddhism, by that time, had almost disappeared from India. By his advice, Agnimitra had issued a proclamation to the effect that whoever would sever the head from the body of a Śramaṇ, would be given one hundred dinārs[46], as a prize[47]. Priyadarśin spread, preached and practised, in keeping with his duties as a king, the gospel of non-violence. Patañjali seems to have been determined to undo all this. He got destroyed as many temples and idols as possible.

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(45) Jaina books contain no mention of the Jaina monks having been thus beheaded; though they contain descriptions of how Jaina monks were harassed and fined by the Kalki king.

(46) One dinar is equal to the value of ten rupees.

(47) Vide C. H. I. pp. 518:—"In Buddhist literature Puṣyamitra figures as a great prosecutor of their religion and offered a reward of 100 dinars for the head of every monk."

E. H. I. Third edition, pp. 502:—It contains a similar observation, and states further:—

"Puṣyamitra indulged in a savage persecution of Buddhism, burning monasteries and slaying monks from Magadh to Jalandhar in the Punjāb. Many monks who escaped his sword are said to have fled into the territories of other rulers."

"Bhārat-no Prāchīn Rājvaṁśa," part II, pp. 145.

Ind. His. Quarterly, vol. V, no. 3 (1929, Sept.) pp. 399.

The gold idols were thrown into the furnace and turned into bullion. All jewels and rubies and emeralds on the idols were sold and the money went directly to the treasury. The reader can clearly understand why we find no remains in Avantī of the Jaina temples erected by emperor Priyadarśin. The same is the reason why gold idols are conspicuous by their absence in Avantī. Only stone idols are found, because it was not possible to sell them and thus turn them into money[48]. The Jaina śravakas of those times might well have tried to bury as many idols as possible deep in the ground, in order to prevent them from being destroyed; but they must have found it impossible to do it, on account of the strict vigilance of the servants of the king and on account of the heavy penalty inflicted on those who tried to do so. On account of these atrocities, the Jaina monks had already left Avantī and had gone to other safer places. In spite of this, numerous groups of great Jaina monks were butchered in Avantī. Those, who survived emigrated towards Rajputānā, and some of them towards Saurastra. Wherever they were, they had taken to reciting and repeating mantras for the establishment of peace. Āchārya Supratibaddha and Āchārya Susthita, the monks in line of Mahāvīr, repeated the mantra for ten million times and so they and their followers were called " Kauḍinya Gaṇa.[49] " More details of these atrocities are given in the account of Kalki. We shall close here with a legend which is aptly applicable to the severe regime of Agnimitra and Patañjali. It is as follows:-Suppose a man encounters a wild elephant on his way; suppose he finds no outlet to run away and save his life except by entering into

(48) The Jaina stūpas of Sānchī and of Vidiśā have survived the oppression of these kings. Why? This proves that the aim of these persecutors was to make money out of religious idols. Stones could not be turned into money. So they were left as they were, and thus escaped destruction.

(49) The original word must have been "Kroḍin" or "Koṭin." Some say that "Kauṭin" was the family name of these monks. But that is not probable, because, while the family name is applied right from the birth, the "Gaṇa" or the group name is applied after the occurrence of a particular event. So the word "Kroḍin" or "Koṭin" must be indicative of Gaṇa and not of Gotra.

a Jaina temple which happens to be in the vicinity; even then, he should not enter into it. Such was their hatred for Jainism.

Patañjali was one of the greatest grammarians. He was doubtless a great scholar. Nevertheless, he cannot stand comparison with Pāṇini, who was imbued with an ever burning desire for the well-being of all people. He was also a royal preceptor, but he cannot hold a candle with Chāṇakya, perhaps the greatest politician and statesman that ancient India produced. From the religious point of view, the reign of Priyadarśin may well be compared with that of Akbar,—a reign of religious tolerance and freedom; while, the reign of Agnimitra, under the guidance of Patañjali, may well be compared with that of another Mogal emperor Aurangzeb—a reign of terror and religious bigotry.



Chapter III

Synopsis:—*Allusions to Kalki in other books and extracts from them—Discussion about them and reasons for the applicability of the title "Kalki" to Agnimitra—Agnimitra's life before he became king—His anger and resentment at the sight of the downfall of Hindu kings—His seizure of the throne at the cost of the murder of his master in order to prevent the wretched state of affairs—His efficacious prevention of the onslaughts of foreign raids, after his coming to the throne—The beginning of the first Aśvamedha sacrifice due to his success in his efforts—Firm establishment of the kingdom of Avantī and preparations for the second Aśvamedha sacrifice—Prevention of the sacrificial horse by the yavana chief Demetrius and fight with him—Vasumitra's death in the fight and the consequent engagement of Agnimitra himself in the battle—Death of Demetrius and completion of the second Aśvamedha sacrifice—Influence of Aśvamedha sacrifices on the people and its evil consequences—The Śunga rule at its zenith and its description—Descriptions of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra as given by the Purāṇās—A discussion proving that though apparently looking incorrect, they are true in a way—An account of Pāṭaliputra from the date of its foundation to the date of its destruction—Relation of Agnimitra with Sujyeṣṭha or Sumitra.*

(1) AGNIMITRA

Agnimitra–(Including Vasumitra's account)

We have already stated that Agnimitra became the independent king, after the death of Puṣyamitra. We have also stated the duration of his reign, and how long he was helped by his father Puṣyamitra and by his son Vasumitra. We give below the principal dates of his reign for the sake of clarity.

	A. M.	B. C.	Years	Age
Birth:—	267	260	0	0
As king (while his father was alive)	323–339	204–188	16	56–72
As independent king (of which last seven years as Kalki)	339–353	188–174	14	72–86
			30 years	

Kalki

Both the Purāṇās and the Jaina books contain an account of a certain king named Kalki. At first sight, it was found almost impossible to identify him with any known and recognized king. Muniśrī Kalyāṇvijayji is a student of history; and owing to his monk-life, he must have had ample time and facility to study books on Jainism. He has tried to prove that[1], this Kalki was the same as Puṣyamitra. He has given instances and arguments in support of his contention. The only evidence—and the most important evidence—that is lacking, is that of dates. We have to come to the conjecture that he must not have found dates adequate enough to support his contention; and so must have rested content with what pieces of evidence he might have gleaned as a result of his study. We have, on the contrary, given definite dates for various events, which we have already described. We have seen from these dates that Kalki is the title aptly belonging to no other king but Agnimitra. We have given below extracts from Muniśrī Kalyāṇvijayaji. We shall then state reasons why we have to differ from him:—

(1) Vide Nāgarī Prachāriṇi Patrikā, vol. X, no. 4. pp. 610 to 631 and pp. 733.

On Pp. 620 he states:—As regards Kalki, the authors of the Purāṇās have said as follows:—"On the eve of the completion of the Kaliyug, there shall be born, at the place of a certain Brahmin named Viṣṇuyaśā[2], the headman of a village named Śambal, God Viṣṇu in the form of Kalki, for the sake of the protection of religion[3]. Kalki will ride a powerful horse named Devdatta, and will annihilate all rogues and thieves and outlaws with his sword. The Mlechchhas[4], and those following other religions[5], will all be killed by Kalki[6]. (Shrimad Bhāgvat, 12 Skandha, A. 2, Pp. 1030—1034)."

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(2) If it is proved that Kalki was Agnimitra, Viṣṇuyaśa was but another name of Puṣyamitra. It can be said that, that was his name, before he became commander-in-chief, and that his native place was Śambal. (Vide his account).

We recollect that in one of the Purāṇās, the same name is found in the dynastic list of the Maurya kings. This needs research. If it is there, Viṣṇuyaśa was definitely another name of Puṣyamitra, and his son will be Kalki, and so Agnimitra.

(3) I. e. for the protection of the Vedic religion, because the Purāṇās state that he was born for the protection of that religion.

(4) The word includes the Greeks, the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Balkas, the Pārthians and others who invaded India at that time.

(5) The Jains and probably the Buddhists—if there was Buddhism in India at that time, were the chief victims.

(6) The repression of Kalki is mainly responsible for the many Kulas and Gaṇas and divisions into which Jainism is found at present. Monks could not meet together and had to improvise new rules and innovate new things as suited their peculiar conditions. The paucity of information about many Āchāryas of these times is also due to this reason.

We have stated elsewhere that the division of Jainism into numerous Gaṇas and Kulas was due to Śvetāṁbara and Digaṁbara divisions. We now find that, that contention is not well-founded. On further thought, we conclude that the time for these two main divisions was about the second century of the Vikrama era. We have alluded to it in vol. II. (Pp. 153, f. n. no. 45 and 49). We have now found reasons to change that time also, which may have to be taken a little further. Be that as it may, these divisions of Jainism during Kalki's time have no connection with the origination of the Digaṁbara sect.

Then the writer has stated that in different Jaina books like Titthogāli, Kāla-saptatikā, Dipmālā (by Jinsundarsūri), and Tiloysār by the Digambara monk Nemichandra sūri, different dates are given about Kalki. He has also given the footnote from Dipmālā by Upādhyāy Kṣemākalyāṇ; it is quoted below:-(Vide Pp. 621, f. n. of that book)—" (Four hundred and seventy-five years after the nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr)[7], there will be a king named Vikramāditya[8], hundred and twenty-four[9] years after him, in a city named Pāṭaliputra[10], will be born Chaturmukh." (In Kāla-saptatikā, three names have been given for Kalki, viz. Kalki, Rudra and Chaturmukh).

In f. n. 31 of Pp. 622, it has been stated on the authority of Titthogāli-payannā. (The Payannā books are the most sacred

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Little is known about the Jaina monks during the two centuries after Āryasuhastiji. This was due to the rule of the Śungas. Again, several stories are found in Jaina books extolling the Vedic religion and the Tāpasa sect. They were also incorporated at this time.

In order to save their lives from the repressive measures of Kalki, the Jaina monks fled hither and thither. Some of them took shelter into the neighbouring kingdoms, which were probably Rājaputānā and the land under the rule of Kṣaharāṭ Bhūmak. This land was known as Madhyadeś and the name of its capital was Madhyamikā, which was probably near Ajmer.

(Cf. also f. n. no. 47 in the preceding chapter).

(7) The words given within the brackets are mine. This is done for the facility of the readers.

(8) The interval between the inception of the Mahāvīra era and that of the Vikrama era is 470 years. But here the figure is stated 475. So there is a clear difference of five years. Hence instead of 124 years, we shall have to take into account 129 years. Then calculate it any way and it comes to the same thing 470–124=346 or 475–129=346.

(9) It was not "after" 124 years; because that way, Puṣyamitra's time would come to the second century after the Vikrama era. Puṣyamitra's time was the second century "before" the Vikrama era. In old manuscripts such mistakes by scribes were common.

(10) The birth-place may have been quite another place; as the whole account, however, is concerning Pātaliputra, the writer must have written it down here by oversight.

and the most authoritative of all the Sūtras of Śvetāmbaras)—"There will be a king named Chaturmukh[11] in Pāṭaliputra. He will see five stūpas...There reigned a very powerful Nanda king[12], for a very long time; he was handsome, rich and renowned."

From the extracts given above we come to the following conclusions:—

(1) Pāṭaliputra camc uuder the power of Pusyamitra. (2) Mahānand or Nand IX, was handsome, powerful, rich and famous. (3) His rule lasted for a very long time. (4) Puṣyamitra had seen the gold stūpas in their original condition. (5) Those stūpas or hills were erected by the Nanda king. According to our calculation they were nine in all (Vide Vol. 1, Pp. 360); here it is said that they were five. It is further stated that he would take away all the gold after digging the stūpas[13].

On Pp. 623 he says:—"Pāṭaliputra will be destroyed by a powerful flood caused by unremitting and ceaseless rainfall. On the day of Sāṁvatsarik Pāraṇā[14], there will be a terrible storm ......for seventy[15] days and nights, there will be ceaseless rainfall; on account of this, the Ganges and the Śoṇ will be in flood[16]."

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(11) In Kāl–saptatikā three names are given for Kalki—Kalki, Rudra and Chaturmukh.

(12) Compare these details with the account of Nand IX. It will be seen that the Nanda king referred to here was the same. (Vide vol. I. pp. 328 and further specially 334).

(13) A similar statement is made by the writer on pp. 610, f. n. no. 24 of the same Patrikā. "Kalki saw five stūpas." In Jaina books Kalki has been described as an enemy of Jainism.

It seems probable from this that the whole of Pātaliputra was dug on account of his lust for wealth. So the city's destruction, as the scholars have taken it for granted, was not due to fire. It was deliberately destroyed.

(14) I. e. the fifth day of the bright half of Bhādrapad. The Paryuṣaṇa holidays of the Jains begin on the 12th day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇ and end on the fourth day of the bright half of Bhādrapad. See f. n. no. 21 below.

(15) The original writer may have meant that the rainfall lasted for seven days and nights.

(16) Pātaliputra was situated on the confluence of the Śoṇ and of the Ganges. So a flood in both of them might well have destroyed Pāṭaliputra.

(A detailed description of the destruction of Pāṭaliputra is given on Pp. 622—23. Readers desirous of being acquainted with it, are referred to those pages).

On Pp. 624 it is stated:—" Āchārya Pāḍivat[17], will recite mantras and will thus invoke Indra......Kalki, the king of haughty temperament, will, at the age of eighty-six[18], 2000 years[19] after the nirvāṇ, be killed by Indra[20], after he has perpetrated endless atrocities. On the fifth day of the bright half of Bhādrapad[21],

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If we read this in conjunction with f. n. no. 13 above, we come to the conclusion that, part of the city was destroyed by Kalki for the sake of wealth, and the rest of it must have been ruined by this flood.

(17) "Pāḍivat" must have been a scribe's error. The Jaina monks Āryasusthit and Āryapratibaddha had repeated the mantra for ten million times and so they were called "Kauḍinya." The word "Pāḍivat" may be a deteriorated form of "Kauḍinya."

(18) Vide pp. 9 and pp. 10 above, and f. n. no. 20 below, where some details are given from Kalpa-Sūtra.

(19) We have stated on pp. 39 above, "Different books give different dates of Kalki." This statement is of the same kind. The statament of 124 years of the author of Payannā above, must be more authoritative.

(20) K. S. S. Com. pp. 103. It is stated there, in Lord Mahāvīr's own words as follows:—"Oh Indra, you will kill that wicked king Kalki, when he is in his eighty-sixth year and two thousand years after that the Bhasma planet in the constellation of my birth will be removed." That is, two thousand years after the death of Kalki, the Bhasma planet will be removed from the constellation of Mahāvīr and thence-forth Jainism will begin to have less repressive or tolerant regimes. Now A. M. 346+2000=2346 A. M. i. e. 2346-527=B. C. 1819. In that year was born queen Victoria. She issued a proclamation to the Indian people that complete religious freedom was to be granted to all. A good end to Bhasma planet.

On the authority of Divyāvadān 29, it is stated on Pp. 398 of Ind. His. Quarterly, Vol. V, " But ultimately Puṣyamitra (Puṣyamitra has been wrongly placed here. The mistake, as we have already seen, is common. The real name should be Agnimitra. See supra f. n. 2) was killed by a Yakṣa named Krimisen, was vowed to protect the religion of Buddha." Thus according to even Buddhism, Kalki did not die a natural death.

(21) Cf. f. n. no. 14 above.

Kalki at the age of 86, will be killed by a direct blow, from Indra[22], and will be an inmate of hell."

It is further stated on Pp. 631–" It should be stated here that the Kalki incarnation described in the Purāṇās, the " Kalkirājā " described in the Jaina books, and Puṣyamitra described by the Buddhists, are names of the same individual." Then the writer has discussed the origin of the title Kalki. The horse (probably the sacrificial horse) must have been a Karka of white colour[23]. So one who rode Karka might be called " Karki, " which later on deteriorated into "Kalki" in Prākṛt. So Kalki was another name of Puṣyamitra......" In Titthogāli, it is stated that during the time of Kalki, the temples of Baladev and of Kṛṣṇa, in Mathurā,[24] were razed to the ground."

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(22) Cf. f. n. no. 20 above.

(23) We should try to find out whether the Purāṇās have to say anything about this or not.

(24) Mathurā was a very holy place of the Jains. Archeological experts have lent support to this view, when idols were found out from the excavations at the mount of Kankālitilā near the city. They have also said that the gate of the stūpa of Mathura is directly connected with Jainism. Jaina books also contain the description of the erection of gold Devstūpa in Mathurā during the time of Pārśvanāth. Later on the same stūpa was made of stone. (See further on this vol. the chapter about Mathurā.) All these things point to the fact that the description given above pertains to the stūpa.

The temple of Kṛṣṇa referred to here, is to be taken to have been a Jaina temple and not a Vaiṣṇava one. Jainism claims Kṛṣṇa also to have been one of its followers like his first cousin Nemināth, the twenty second Jaina Tīrthaṅkar. Looking from that point of view, the temple must have been a Jaina one. For more details the reader is referred to the chapter on Mathurā. Again Kalki himself was a follower of the Vedic religion. So he must not have destroyed a temple connected with his own faith. Hence the statement of Titthogāli that the temple was a Jaina one is quite true.

Kṛṣṇa was probably a follower of Jainism. No doubt, Kṛṣṇa was also known as Viṣṇu. So a follower of Kṛṣṇa may legitimately be called a Vaiṣṇav. But the terms " Vaiṣṇav " and " Vaiśnav " are not identical. The Vaiśnavite sect or Vaiśnavism began in the fifteenth century A. D. " A Vaiṣṇav ' means a devotee of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa and a Vaiśnava means a follower of Vallabhāchārya. So, it is clear that the words are quite different and have different meanings.

From the extracts quoted above from the Purāṇās and from Jaina books by the writer, we deduce the following things:— (1) Kalki was a devoted follower and propagator of the Vedic religion. (2) He was the destroyer of other faiths. (3) He was a man of a very haughty temperament and had killed many persons. (4) He was mainly responsible for the destruction of Pāṭaliputra. (5) He died at the age of eighty-six. He died at the hands of a god or of a yakṣa. (6) Kalki was very covetous of wealth and was very cruel. (7) He was a Brāhmin by birth and had slain many Mlechchhas.

If we compare these deductions and those given on pp. 40 with the details given about Puṣyamitra and Patañjali in the preceding chapter, we shall easily infer, that they resemble in more respects than one, and that some one closely connected with Patañjali was Kalki. We have now to decide whether he was Puṣyamitra or Agnimitra. We have to find out from the account of the extent of their territories, which of them defeated the Mlechchhas.

Who can rightly claim the title of Kalki ? Puṣyamitra or Agnimitra ?

Let us now turn to this question of the applicability of the title "Kalki" to Puṣyamitra or to Agnimitra. We have stated in the previous pages that in A. M. 301 or B. C. 226, Śātakarṇī II invaded Avantī, killed Vṛṣabhasen the Maurya king, and seated his brother on the throne. Then he appointed Puṣyamitra as the commander-in-chief in Avantī.[25] Puṣyamitra was born in A. M. 251 (vide pp. 8). So in A. M. 301

In sanskṛt grammar N is changed to Ṇ in certain conditions only. It must be preceded by Ṛ, R or Ṣ and there can be a vowel or a semi-vowel except L or a letter of the guttural or the labial class between Ṛ, R or Ṣ and N. It would be no doubt interesting to consult a follower of Vaiśṇavism on the point.

(25) It is also believed that Puṣyamitra had been under the service of the Maurya kings before A. M. 301, i. e. before the invasion of Avantī by Śātakarṇī II; because we find the words:—"Śātakarṇī snatched Avantī from Puṣyamitra." This means that Puṣyamitra was already in the service of the Mauryas by the time Śātakarṇī invaded Avantī. Then he must have been appointed as prime-minister, and his son Agnimitra might have been appointed as the commander-in-chief. (Cf. f. n. no. 26 below).

he was nearly fifty years of age. Now king Kalki died in 353 A. M. Both the Purāṇās and the Jaina books agree about this; and if we accept that Puṣyamitra was Kalki, then he must have died at the age of 102 odd years. There are certain objections to a contention of this type. (1) Such a long life is impossible to a man actively engaged in political intricacies throughout his life. It is plausible enough to imagine a peaceful man to have enjoyed such spell of longevity. (2) Puṣyamitra died in A. M. 339 as we have shown on pp. 8; and it is not given to us-poor mortals- to grant him a lease of 14 years' existence on the terrestrial plane. (3) In an authoritative book like Amarakoś, Agnimitra has been called the emperor. Puṣyamitra has not been granted the same privilege. (4) Kālidās has composed a play called "Mālvikāgnimitram;" but he has not written "Mālvikāpuṣyamitram." The four objections stated above are based on the authority of the Purāṇās. (5) A glance at the map of the extent of the territory of Agnimitra will convince us, that he was definitely a powerful emperor. Ample proofs are available in favour of calling him an independent sovereign emperor. (6) Agnimitra has been found to have ruled as a king even during the life-time of Puṣyamitra, whom we have found to have been a Śungabhṛtya as long as Agnimitra did not ascend the throne. (7) Dates from the account of the Yavana king (the account will be given later on) go in favour of Agnimitra. (8) It has been already proved (pp. 7 above) that Puṣyamitra never ascended the throne. Yet, even if we take it for granted for once that he actually ascended the throne and that he died in A. M. 353, at the age of 102 years, we shall have to answer many objections to the theory. In the first place, his political career is said to have lasted for 38 years. Out of these, for the first 22 years he was the commander-in-chief in Avantī. So he must have ruled as a king for the remaining 16 years. Calculating back from 102 years, we come to 86 when he must have ascended the throne. Then we shall have to swallow-willingly or unwillingly- the impossibilities like his conquests over the Yavanas at the fag-end of his life and the completion of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by him during his senility. (9) Suppose, some one argues for the sake of argument that Puṣyamitra was no doubt an independent king;

however the conquest over the yavanas and the performance of the sacrifice were the achievements of Agnimitra. This would mean that the territory of Agnimitra was larger than that of Puṣyamitra (because Agnimitra must have wrested some territory from the Yavanas as a result of his victory). Then the objection no. 5 will have to be taken as valid and will go in favour of Agnimitra and against Puṣyamitra. (10) Again, if we accept Puṣyamitra as Kalki, we will have to accept that he died in A. M. 353 at the age of 88, (because Puṣyamitra certainly died at the age of 88). Counting back, we shall have to agree to A. M. 265 as the year of his birth, (though we have proved that he was born in A. M. 251). Now we know that Śātakarṇī II invaded Avantī in A. M. 301; defeated and killed the Maurya king and appointed Puṣyamitra as the commander-in-chief of Avantī. When we accept that he was born in A. M. 265, we must also grant that he was 36 years of age in A. M. 301. Then we shall have to face the impossibility of his having been appointed to the highest position in the army together with a position of grave responsibility of maintaining peace and order in a foreign country only recently conquered—a position which must have been entrusted to a man ripe with the experience of politics and policy—at the young age of 36. Then, at what age must he have joined the army to rise to such a position at 36 ? Or was he appointed straight off just as an heir-apparent is annointed and seated on the throne, irrespective of his age and experience ?

All these objections lead to one conclusion. And that conclusion goes against Puṣyamitra. Kalki was the title assumed by Agnimitra * and has belonged to him since the time he adopted it.

Agnimitra was born in A. M. 267=B. C. 260. Puṣyamitra joined the Mauryan army in A. M. 298 or B. C. 229. At that time Agnimitra was about thirty years old. His political career can be said to have begun from this time[26], because he also joined the army and began to receive training under the guidance of

* Cf. the latter portion of f. n. no. 2 on pp. 38.

(26) Cf. f. n. no. 25 above.

his father. In B. C. 226, the Āndhra king Śātakaraṇi II appointed Puṣyamitra as prime-minister of Avantī. From that time Agnimitra was the commander-in-chief de facto. His temperament was moulded under the direct influence of his father and he led constant military life. He remained on the post for nearly fifteen years, upto A. M. 316=B. C. 211. By that time, Satdhanvā or Śatdharman, the Maurya king died. His son Bṛhadrath succeeded him on the throne. Senility had overtaken Puṣyamitra by this time and he had almost detached himself from affairs-political. Agnimitra had shouldered the whole responsibility. Bṛhadrath's rule lasted from A. M. 316 to 323=7 years=B. C. 211 to 204.

His life before he became emperor

The territorial extent of the Mauryan empire had been reduced to a very great degree. (a) People had become restive on account of religious persecution. Money was extracted from them in most tortuous ways. Jālauk, one of the sons of emperor Priyadarśin, had become the king of Kaśmīr. He invaded the Mauryan territory[27], and wrested from it, the whole of south-western portion[28], and a large slice from northern India—the portion which is now called United Provinces and Audh. (b) The descendants of Śāliśuk,-a branch of the Mauryas-had annexed the region now known as Behar and the eastern portion of Bengal. (c) The eastern portion of Avantī, which was then called Vidarbha and which now consists of Central Provinces and Central India States Agency, was then either under the ruling power of Bengal or of Āndhra. (d) The whole of southern India, with the exception of a small independent piece, was under the hegemony of the Śātavāhan king of Āndhra. (e) It is not certain under whose power were the provinces of Saurāṣṭra, Rājputānā[29], (and probably Sindh. It is probable that Śakas who emigrated to India through Sindh, had made the portion their colony.) In these ways the extent of

(27) Appendix D in vol. II; from pp. 360 to 365. It contains an account of Jālauk.

(28) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 199:—" It is unlikely that either the later Mauryas or the Śungas exercised any jurisdiction in the Punjāb.

(29) Vide further for the account of the reign of Odrak.

the Mauryan territory had been reduced almost to nothing. To add to the difficulties, Jālauk, the king of Kāśmīr, referred to in no. (1) above, died in about A. M. 332=B. C. 205. His son Dāmodar succeeded him on the throne. He was not as valorous as his illustrious father. So the Bactrians, who had hitherto found it a hard nut to crack to cross the borders of the Punjāb, made a powerful onrush, and wrested from Jālauka's son, the province of Mathurā. They then began to make preparation to invade Avantī.

This deplorable state of affairs must have been very painful and humiliating to an ambitious man like Agnimitra. His heart burned with a desire to liberate Avantī from this wretched condition. So he arranged a grand military parade and invited king Bṛhadrath to inspect it. Bṛhadrath, mounted on a horse, began the inspection. Taking advantage of the opportunity, he murdured Bṛhadrath[30] (A. M. 323=B. C. 204).

Puṣyamitra was alive at this time. He had reached his seventy-second year. So, instead of ascending the throne himself, he seated his son Agnimitra on it. Vasumitra, Agnimitra's son, was appointed as the heir-apparent.

Agnimitra as king

After properly establishing himself on the throne, he directed his attention towards increasing the territorial extent of his kingdom. He advanced in one direction, and sent his son Vasumitra in the other. Vasumitra was quite young about twenty-five, and he was inexperienced in the art of warfare. He had had as yet no occasion to fight in a pitched battle. So, in order to guide him, Agnimitra sent his father Puṣyamitra with him.

He himself undertook the task of defeating the king of Vidarbha. He sent his heir-apparent and his father in the north-west for the purpose of driving out the yavana chiefs, who had

(30) The details given in the account of Puṣyamitra differ slightly from the details given here; (for instance did Śatdhanvā precede Bṛhadrath or vice versa? and their dates etc.) but that difference does not affect the main contention; and even the difference itself is bound to disappear with further research. (Some details are given later on).

recently conquered and established themselves in the territory which they had wrested from Dāmodar of Kāśmīr; from Sūrsen, Pāñchāl and the regions on the east of the Sutlej and of establishing the Śunga hegemony in these provinces. He was successful in his task. He defeated the king of Vidarbha and annexed a certain portion of his territory to Avantī. He also married the beautiful daughter of the Vidarbha king—Mālavikā by name, and also called Vaidarbhī[31]. All these details are vividly described by Kālidās in his play, "Mālavikāgnimitram"[32]. Vasumitra and Puṣyamitra on the other hand were engaged in a bloody warfar eagainst the yavanas and numerous soldiers of the enemy were killed[33]. Those yavana chiefs who survived (there were about seven chiefs in all[34]) took to their heels and approached Demetrius, before whom

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(31) "Vaidarbhī' means "a daughter of the king of Vidarbha." (This change is in conformity with the rules of Sanskṛt grammar. More instances of the kind are given in vol. I. pp. 118 and vol. II. pp. 172. The wife of king Nala was also a princess of Vidarbha; and she too was called "Vaidarbhī."

(32) C. H. I. pp. 519:—"During the first war between Vidiśā and Vidarbha, the former was successful; as a result Vidarbha was divided into two provinces by the Wardha river (between Berar and C. P. at present.)

C. H. I. pp. 223:—"Conquered Vidarbha, a province under Āndhra." This means that the province of Vidarbha was under the power of the Āndhra king, and that Mālavikā was the daughter, either of the Āndhra king or of his chieftain ruling over Vidarbha.

(33) In Greek history, this war is described as terrible. Vāyupurāṇ contains the mention of two great battles fought by the Āryans against Yavanas. This was the first of them. (Vide "Buddhiprakāś" vol. 76, pp. 78 and further).

Over and above these two great wars, numerous petty wars had taken place. The first of the great wars took place in B. C. 197, and the second in B. C. 157.

C. H. I. pp. 512:—"Who (Puṣyamitra) as is indicated in the drama called Mālavikāgnimitra succeeded in the struggle with the Greeks." This means that Puṣyamitra himself had to fight against the Greeks and that he had come victorious out of it. We have here maintained that the victory was won under the joint generalship of Puṣyamitra and Vasumitra.

(34) "Buddhiprakāś," vol. 76, pp. 94:—"From the Punjāb, seven chiefs, known as Śākal, will invade India. Their warriors will slay the soldiers of

they poured the doleful account of their misfortunes in the battle (B. C. 199 to 197=A. M. 328 to 330). On account of this[35], all the region in north—western India, now vacated by the yavana chiefs, came under the power of the Śunga kings. Mr. Smith[36], gives the following account of these conquests. "Agnimitra's youthful son Vasumitra was employed on active service under the orders of the king, his grand father Pusyamitra, who at this time must have been advanced in years, resolved to crown his military success by substantiating and proclaiming a formal claim to the rank of Lord Paramount of northern India. His pretensions received confirmation by the success of Agnimitra, in a local war with his southern neighbour the Raja of Vidarbha (Berar) which resulted in the complete defeat of the Raja, who was obliged to cede half of his dominions to a rival cousin; the river Wardha being constituted the boundary between the two principalities."

The time[37] of these two conquests can be fixed between A. M. 330 to 332=B. C. 197 to 195. Pusyamitra had sent word of his and Vasumitra's achievements to Agnimitra who was in Vidiśā at that time.[38] Agnimitra's marriage with Mālavikā took place in about A. M. 331=B. C. 196.

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the opposite army and will make the earth look awful with their blood. Then will take place a terrible and bloody battle in the portion of the Magadh on the banks of the Ganges. The yavana chiefs and their soldiers will be slaughtered in the battle by Puṣyamitra."

(35) See f. n. no. 37 below.

(36) Vide pp. 200 of "The Early History of India." 3rd edition.

(37) The time for both these is stated by us as A. M. 328 to 330= B. C. 199 to 197. Here there is a difference of two years. This requires study and research. Be that as it may, it is certain that these events took place within the span of five years from A. M. 326 to 331.

(38) Vide pp. 201, C. H. I. and pp. 54 C. A. I. "Agnimitra, the ruler of Vidiśā." The reader will now be convinced that the seat of the capital of the Śungās was Vidiśā; Pāṭaliputra never enjoyed that privilege. It was given up as a seat of the capital right from the time of the great Mauryan emperor, Priyadarśin. For more details read the paragraph, "The duration of Pāṭaliputra."

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In celebration of these two conquests, it was decided to perform the Aśvamedha sacrifice[39]. It was completed in A. M. 332=B. C. 195 under the tutelage of Patañjali. Some six or seven years after the completion of this sacrifice, Puṣyamitra died at the age of 88, in A. M. 339=B. C. 188.

We know that the yavana chiefs who had fled from India, had told baleful tales of their miseries in India, to Demetrius. He was a young man of haughty and valorous temperament. He decided to take revenge and began preparations for invading India, in about B. C. 194. His father Euthidemos, had conquered and annexed the Punjāb in A. M. 317=B. C. 210; but Jālauk of Kāśmir and Agnimitra had wrested the major portion of it by and by. Jālauk was already dead and was succeeded by his son Dāmodar, who was not so valorous as his father. So Demetrius found no difficulty in annexing the Punjāb to his territory. About B. C. 188, he conquered the northern portion of the Punjāb and consolidated his position there. Then he began to plot for a further pretext for warfare. In the region called Madra, situated between the Chinab and the Rāvi, he sent a beautiful young yavana girl[40] just for a holiday trip[41], with the intention that Vasumitra might come across her and fall in love with her at once. His intention was only too quickly realized. Vasumitra was infatuated with her bewitching beauty. He asked for marriage with the girl. According to the pre-arranged plan, the request was not granted. The result was the declaration of war on both sides. Demetrius got an opportunity to show his valour. Vasumitra was

(39) Vide pp. 96, lines 17 to 20, of "Buddhiprakāś" vol. 76. There is given an article based on the authority of the Vāyupurāṇ.

(40) There is no mention of this beautiful damsel episode in the Greek history. It is stated so in "Buddhiprakāś," vol. 76, pp. 96, on the authority of Yugapurāṇ. The reason for this is that this war was one of the episodes of Demetrius' political career. in India. Hence it might have been omitted from the Greek history.

(41) Either Vasumitra accidentally came across the girl or there was a pre-arranged plan for their encountering each other. We incline towards the second conclusion.

defeated and a portion of the Punjāb upto the banks of the Sutlej, probably came under the power of Demetrius. Agnimitra now decided to assert himself. So he proclaimed the beginning of the second Aśvamedha sacrifice,[42] and sent Vasumitra to follow and protect the sacrificial horse during its perambulation. No sooner did the horse reach the banks of the Sutlej, than hewas stopped by the yavanās. A battle was fought between the two armies (A. M. 345=B. C. 182). Vasumitra was killed in the battle[43]. Agnimitra was exceedingly grieved to hear this sad news, and enraged at the insolent yavanās, he personally marched at the head of a vast army in order to teach them a bitter lesson. A terrible battle was fought on the banks of the Indus[44] (Sutlej). The yavanās were miserably defeated, and probably Demetrius died (A. M. 346=B. C. 181).

Agnimitra felt this to be one of his greatest conquests, for the yavana chiefs had enjoyed power in India for a long time.

(42) The Aśvamedha sacrifice is begun by that king only, who has become the master of a vast extent of territory. It is not a question of expenses. It becomes clear from this, that Agnimitra must have brought a vast territory under his power. So the reader will judge for himself the truth or otherwise of the belief about the river Indus of the ancient books in f. n. no. 44 below.

(43) C. H. S. pp. 55:—"According to Bāṇa, he–Vasumitra–was killed while engaged in amateur theatricals by one Mitradev." This seems to us to be far from truth. The drama was enacted in celebration of the marriage of Agnimitra with Mālvikā. If Vasumitra were killed at that time, he could not have attended the first Aśvamedha sacrifice which Agnimitra performed after his marriage. It has been proved that Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra and Patanjali—all the four—attended the first Aśvamedha sacrifice. So Bāṇa may have been mistaken.

(44) In ancient books it is merely stated that a battle took place on the banks of the Indus. No further details are given. The historians must have been under the impression that the power of the Śungās must have extended upon a small region around Vidiśā, and so the Yavanas must have invaded that territory from the Mathurā side. Hence they have stated that the battle took place on the Kālisindhu, (and not the Sindhu–the Indus itself) a tributary of the Chambal river, flowing through Avantī. The reader now of course knows the real thing. Cf. f. n. no. 42 above.

Vasumitra had defeated them only some years ago; but their defeat was complete at the hands of Agnimitra who had undertaken the task with a double view, to avenge the death of his son Vasumitra[45] and to vindicate his honour and fame, by dealing a severe blow to those who had dared to check the progress of the sacrificial horse. He felt satisfied and pleased, and completed the second Aśvamedha sacrifice as a mark of the formal proclamation of his paramountcy. Thus two Aśvamedha sacrifices were performed by him[46].

After the completion of the second sacrifice he lived for seven years only[47].

The influence of the horse-sacrifice

We are not concerned here with the details of the rites of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The performance of such sacrifices, however, exerted a powerful influence over the people. We have to take note of this influence.

The person who performs the sacrifice (not the preceptor of course) is called the yajamān (host). The yajamān of the

(45) Some writers have stated that the prevention of the sacrificial horse was the sole reason of the war. The reader wiil see that it was one of the main causes.

(46) Ind. His. Quarterly, vol. V, no. 3, pp. 404:—"In a Brāhmī inscription at Ayodhyā, it is said that Senāpati Puṣyamitra performed not one but two horse sacrifices. His was an exceptionally successful career. (We know that the person who performed these sacrifices was Agnimitra. If both the sacrifices had been performed by Puṣyamitra alone, the words "exceptionally successful" would not have been used.)

It is stated in Gārga Saṁhitā that seven kings will rule India after that. This is quite true. Seven kings succeeded Agnimitra on the throne. It is stated on pp. 658 of "Maurya Sāmrājya kā Itihās," "Seven kings ruled India after this, or India was divided into seven kingdoms:—"Gāndhār, Kāśmīr, Magadh, Kaling, Āndhra." He has stopped here and has not given the remaining two names. It means that his statement is not founded on facts. For further information, the reader is referred to the correct dynastic and chronological list of the Śungās given at the end of this chapter.

(47) In the Purāṇās it has been stated that Agnimitra ruled for eight years only. The Yuga-purāṇ states that his reign lasted for thirty years. Vide "Buddhiprakāś," vol. 76, pp. 96, line 14.

Aśvamedha sacrifice is always a powerful and great king. He has probably numerous queens. The chief queen is granted the privilege (!) of sleeping near the dead body of the sacrificial horse. A likeness of this sight[48]—the queen sleeping by the dead body of the sacrificial horse—is carved on a big slab of stone and the slab is meant to be preserved for all time to come. A famous historian[49] has the following observation to make on this:—"There is independent evidence to show that the obscure elements of the Vedic rites grew unpopular in course of time and fell into desuetude." We cannot gauge the extent of the influenc eexerted by such obscene sights. But one thing is certain. People who saw such sights became licentious. We have no historical evidence at hand in support of this contention. The author of Vāyupurāṇ however, has taken special note of this. (Vide " Buddhiprakāś " Vol. 76. Pp. 89 to 100). The article is written by Dewān Bahādur Keshavlāl Harshadrāi Dhruv. He says:—" Vasumitra will be succeeded by Odrak, and he will have to fight against hoards of terrible Śakas. The Śakas will be victorious. The king, wounded in a delicate part of the body, by the arrows of Śakas, will give up his life. Then the Śakas, the cruel Śakas, will persecute the people who will have become degenerate and dissolute. Such is the prophecy of the Purāṇās." Mr. Dhruv is (by the time this goes to the press he is dead) a great scholar and follower of the Vedic religion. His words prove that the people of those times had become very lax in morals due to the influence of such obscene sights. The evil influence lasted for a long time and persisted in spoiling the lives of the people, generation after generation. The accounts of the remaining kings afford ample proofs of this statement.

The last king of the Śunga dynasty, Devbhūti by name, died on account of his licentiousness of conduct. The father of

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(48) Ind. His. Quarterly, vol. V, no. 3, pp. 485:—"Vapuṣṭamā, the chief queen of king Janmējay slept near the dead body of the sacrificial horse. Indra, having entered the dead body of the horse, effected sexual union with her. Cf. the description of the invasion of the Śakas, given further.

(49) Ind. His. Quarterly, pp. 405.

Vikramāditya, Gardabhīl by name and king of Avantī, whose account will be given later on, fell a prey to the same vice and lost his kingdom. The story of Bhartṛhari's wife, Pingalā by name, is only too famous to be narrated here. This Bhartṛhari was the younger brother of Vikramāditya. All these are instances of the ruin caused by licentiousness of conduct resulting from such obscene sights. This state of affairs continued for at least a century and a half, and it was at last wiped out by the famous Vikramāditya, the ruler of Avantī. His account will be given later on.

In spite of this laxity of morals, the Śungās have one good thing to their credit. The foreigners invaded India again and again from the north-western direction. Their onslaughts were effectively checked by the Śunga kings. Had they not done so, one cannot say what changes might have taken place in the political condition of India.

After the completion of the second horse sacrifice, Agnimitra directed his attention towards consolidating his empire. He was of a covetous temperament, and the wars had cost him enormous amounts of money. To add to this, he had to defray the expenses of the two Aśvamedha sacrifices. So he began the cruel task of turning into gold all the Jaina gold idols established by the emperor Priyadarśin, with the double purpose of getting wealth and satisfying his religious jealousy and fanaticism. His religious bigotry did not stop here. He began in earnest a severe repression of all, who did not follow the Vedic religion. Their religious places and temples were burnt and destroyed (cf. destruction of Kṛṣṇa's temple in f. n. 24 above). They themselves were put to sword. He issued a proclamation to the effect that whoever would cut off the head[50] of Śramaṇ and present it before him, would be given one hundred dinārs as a reward.

The Śunga empire at its zenith

Like all other Jaina idols, the gold Stūpa–Voḍvā Tope–of Mathurā suffered from the same fate. He carried the gold to the treasury. But his avarice knew no bounds. He yearned after

(50) For further details, vide further in this book, the chapter on Mathurā.

more and more gold and hunted for it like a bloodhound. He came to know, as a result of further investigation that in Pāṭaliputra[51], the capital of Magadh, there were five stūpās in which gold was hoarded during the time of Nand IX. So with a view to catch hold of this wealth[52] and to bring that territory under his power, he marched into Magadh and defeated the king there[53]. Then he ordered his men to dig the city out and out in search of wealth, and hoarded it as much as possible. Thus began the destruction of the city. We have given in the account of Kalki how his own death took place. In this way died Agnimitra, after ruling, for 16 years during the life-time of his father and for the next 14 years as an independent sovereign; for 7 or 8 out of which, he assumed the title Kalki. His age at the time of his death in A. M. 353=B. C. 174, was eighty six years.

In any war at any time it is the custom that the soldiers bear the brunt of the battle and suffer most. They face the

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(51) C. S. H. pp. 55:—"The wicked and valiant Greeks occupied Sāket, Pānchāl and Mathurā and advanced as far as Kusumadhvaja (Pāṭaliputra) but Puṣyamitra (Agnimitra, it ought to be) ultimately drove them out of Magadh." The reader will clearly see that the latter part of this sentence is incorrect.

It was after the death of Agnimitra that the Greeks got hold over some portions of Pānchāl and Mathurā. They do not seem to have advanced into Magadh before that. (Vide the accounts of Menander and of Rājuvul).

(52) We have often stated that, money, land and woman are the three main causes of all quarrels. In the Kaliyug, women were responsible for many quarrels of great historic importance. The Kauravās began it at the beginning of the Kaliyug. During the time of king Ajātaśatru, that is, according to the Jaina books, at the beginning of the fifth Ārā, land became the chief cause of the quarrels between kings and people. From the time of Kalki onwards, money came into the fore front as the cause of dissensions among the unhappy inmates of this globe.

The reader has to understand that at every time, only one of the causes was predominant. But this does not mean that the other two were non-existent. They were there, but they played a minor role.

(53) It is to be understood that the branch of the Mauryas, which ruled over Magadh, was brought under the vassalage of the Śungās.

bayonets.[54] But the glory of victory or disgrace of defeat always goes to the credit or discredit of him who is in the command of the army. We know that Puṣyamitra played a prominent part in the wars that took place during his life-time. So, the authors of the Purāṇās have connected with his name all important events that occurred during the twenty-five years from A. M. 298 to 323—the years which witnessed the decline and fall of the Mauryan empire. We have, however, seen in the foregoing pages, that it was not the true state of affairs. Some instances are given below:—

The statements of the Purāṇas

(1) The siege of Sāket[55] (B. C. 210 or before that) and of Madhyamikā (before B. C. 204). The yavana chief Euthidemos was responsible for both. They took place between A. M. 317 to 323. Now the Maurya kings ruled the kingdom at that time; but as the real power was in the hands of Puṣyamitra, the writers of Purāṇās have connected both the events with his name[56] (Vide the account of Puṣyamitra).

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(54) It is not to be understood that bayonets actually existed in those times. The term is used metaphorically.

(55) Though all the writers have written the word "Sāket," the correct word is "Śākal." It was the name of modern Śiyālakoṭ. While Sāket is the other name of Ayodhyā, Śāket and Śākal were quite different cities. (See f. n. no. 56 below).

(56) This will make it clear, how much truth there is, in the statement of the writer of the Indian History Quarterly. He has stated on pp. 346, vol. V.—"So the siege of Śāket and Madhyamikā by Yavanas could not have been contemporaneous with Puṣyamitra's horse-sacrifice, but must have taken place before him." The siege took place in B. C. 210, while the sacrifice was performed in B. C. 197. In connection with this, read paragraph no. 4 below. In short, there was an interval of nearly fifteen years between these two events. The sacrifice took place later and the siege took place earlier. Paṇḍit Jayasvāl, has stated in a footnote on pp. 396, "The siege of Śāket (see f. n. no. 55 above for the difference between Śāket and Śākal) must have been earlier than the horse-sacrifice."

Trogus Pompeius, the ancient Greek historian, supports this contention, (though Dr. Sten Konow differs from him). It is stated on C. H. I. pp. 404:— "Dr. Sten Konow ignores the statement of Trogus Pompeius, and holds

(2) It was Agnimitra who murdered Bṛhadrath, the Maurya king; but as Puṣyamitra was the prime-minister, the crime is imputed to him. This event took place in A. M. 323=B. C. 204.

(3) It was Vasumitra who drove the yavana chiefs from the provinces of Pāñchāl and Sūrasen, after a bloody battle. The event took place during the rule of Agnimitra. Puṣyamitra had already retired from political life, and merely concerned himself with guiding Vasumitra, whenever the latter approached him for consultation and advice. He had accompanied Vasumitra solely with this purpose. He was not in a condition to take active part in the warfare. Even then the Purāṇās have credited him with all the glory of the success in the enterprise. This event took place in A. M. 330=B. C. 197.

(4) The first Aśvamedha sacrifice was performed during the kingship of Agnimitra. But simply because Puṣyamitra was alive, the writers of the Purāṇās and Patañjali, have described him as the host.

It will be clear now, why the Purāṇās have connected several events with Puṣyamitra, which had really little connection with him.

We have not devoted a separate paragraph to the account of any city as yet. That honour goes to Pāṭaliputra for several reasons. In the first place it was the privileged capital of the vastest empire in those times. In the second place, scholars have committed gross mistakes by considering it as the capital of the same empire, even many years after its destruction; one or two instances will suffice in support of the second reason. (a) It was in a state of decline during the rule of emperor Priyadarśin. Several historical facts have been misrepresented on account of the historians still describing it as a flourishing seat of the capital (b) They have also taken it for granted that even after the end of the Maurya dynasty, it was the seat of the capital of the Śungās. Several anomalies have cropped up as a result of this; viz, if we accept that Agnimitra had made Pāṭaliputra the seat

The duration of Pāṭaliputra

without any hesitation that the Yavana king, who laid siege to Śākal (cf. f. n. no. 55 above) and Madhyamikā contemporaneously with Puṣyamitra's horse-sacrifice, was Demetrius, son of Euthydemos (Acta Orientalia I, pp. 53).

of his capital, how can we explain the fact that he was also the king of Vidiśā, or that he invaded Pāṭaliputra and nearly destroyed it. Such instances can be given as many as we like.

In Vol. I. Pp. 285 & seq. in the account of Udayāśva the king of the Śisūnāga dynasty, we have stated that Pāṭaliputra was founded in A. M. 34=B. C. 493 during the fourth year of his reign. We have proved in the foregoing pages that it was destroyed by Agnimitra in about A. M. 347=B. C. 181, or at any time between B. C. 181 to 174, i. e. about B. C. 179-80. We know that king Śatānik of Vatsa, had destroyed Champānagari[57] the capital of king Dadhivāhan of Anga; but its remains were repaired by emperor Ajātśatru of Magadh[58]. In the same way, though Pāṭaliputra was dug out and out by the men of Agnimitra in order to satisfy his lust for wealth, yet it cannot be said that it was destroyed in toto and beyond reparation and revival. So it would not be improper to say that the duration of Pāṭaliputra was longer than 314 years, i. e. from B. C. 493 to B. C. 179. Of this, we can be certain that its political significance was gone for ever. It was probably never repaired or revived. Mr. Crindle has written a special book on Pāṭaliputra. He has suggested in it that some time or other, the city must have been consumed by flames of fire. Its remains have been excavated near Paṭnā. They show that some portions of the city were blackened by smoke. So we conclude that Pāṭaliputra was wiped out of existence by fire, some time after B. C. 179 when it was partially destroyed.

During more than the three centuries of its existence, the city thrived and prospered by leaps and bounds. But we have to take note of a calamity that overtook it in the middle period of its life. During the reign of Nandivardhan, the first Nanda king, it was under the grips of excessive rainfall (Vol. I. Pp. 311). We might be tempted to come to the conclusion that the city was originally founded on the confluence of the rivers Ganges and Śoṇ. The remains found at present, however, indicate that later on, and specially at the time of its destruction, it was

(57) Vide vol. I, pp. 111.
(58) Vide vol. I, pp. 279.

situated on the western banks of the river Śoṇ. Probably this change of place happened on the occasion of the excessive rainfall referred to above.

Its prosperity was closely linked with its existence. From the time of its foundation, it has been considered to have been very auspecious. It steadily prospered with the flow of time. It reached its zenith during the reign of the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta. Its decline began when Chandragupta ordered a palace to be built in Avantī, and began to stay there with his heir-apparent for some part in every year. Bindusār and Aśoka continued it as the seat of the capital of the empire, and maintained the custom of sending the heir-apparent for residence at the palace in Avantī. Then Aśoka retired from politics, and Priyadarśin, the next to come to the throne, declared the seat of his capital to be in Avantī. Prince Daśarath was appointed as the Governor of the province of Magadh. From that time onwards, the decline of Pātaliputra became rapid. It ceased to be the centre of political activities. The centre was shifted to Avantī. It was now reduced to the condition of being the capital of a province, rather than the whole of the empire. Then Agnimitra dealt the last blow and its back was irreparably broken.

Details about the dimensions, fortifications, gates and turrets, and the ditch about it have been given as occasions arose for them.

We have seen above, that we cannot definitely say who succeeded Agnimitra on the throne. According to the majority of the Purāṇās, Sujyeṣṭha was the successor, though no other piece of evidence is forthcoming to support this contention. The coins of Sujyeṣṭha make it clear that he was third in the generation[59] from Puṣyamitra. We have already proved that Puṣyamitra himself never occupied the throne. He was first the commander-in-chief and then the prime-minister. But that was all. From this we deduce that (1) The coins of this prince prove the validity of our contention about Puṣyamitra. (2) That Sumitra

Vasumitra (Sujyeṣṭha -Sumitra)

(59) J. B. O. R. S. vol. XX, nos. 3 and 4, pp. 301:—"Senāpati TiTaya"; ibid, pp. 302;—"Sumitra being identical with Vasumitra of the Purāṇās."

calls himself the third in the line, means that some one must have preceded him. In short, he was probably the grandson of Puṣyamitra. If that is true, we shall have to accept him either as Agnimitra's son or his nephew[60]. Again the coin proves that he himself never came to the throne; otherwise he would not have introduced himself as he has, but would have rested content with his name and the family sign. All the details given above suit Vasumitra to a T. Again he was also a grandson of Puṣyamitra, and the heir–apparent to the throne after Agnimitra. He could not come to the throne, because his premature death prevented him from doing so. Two other things support this (1) The Purāṇās have stated that his (Sujyeṣṭha's) rule lasted for seven years[61]. Vasumitra remained the heir–apparent for exactly the same number of years. (2) The dynastic list supplied by the writers of the Purāṇās contain the mention of Vasumitra II[62]. If this is true–and we have no proof to the contrary—it proves that there definitely was a Vasumitra I. On account of many reasons like these, we have to come to the conclusion that Sujyeṣṭha and Vasumitra were names of the same person.

In the coin he declares himself as third from Puṣyamitra. The coin must have been minted from B. C. 188 to 181. If sujyeṣṭha was the name, before he became the heir–apparent and assumed the name Vasumitra, its time must be taken to have been B. C. 188. This is more probable, because almost all the names end in "Mitra"–Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra, Balamitra, Bhānumitra and so on. It is not improper to suppose, most of the kings assumed a name ending in "Mitra" when they came to power.[63]

Details of Vasumitra's political career have already been given in the accounts of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra.

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(60) Ibid. Pp. 301:—"Sumitra was a son of Agnimitra."

(61) Vide pp. 16 above for the dynastic list.

62) Vide pp. 14 & 15 above for the dynastic list.

(63) Many scholars call Śunga dynasty, the "Mitra" dynasty, because the names of most of the kings end in "Mitra." We naturally come to the conclusion that those names which do not end in "Mitra" were their names before they came to power, either as the ruler or the holder of a responsible office in the state.



Chapter IV

End of the Śunga Dynasty

Synopsis:—*Some change in the method of the narrative and reason for it—Different names of Odrak and Bhāg and their relations with Agnimitra—Fixing their dates and an account of their relatives, based on the authority of literary books–Some description of their two wars on the frontier with Menander, the yona chief–Change in their boundaries—The pillar erected by Heliodorus, yona representative, as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa and details about it—Religious enmity and rivalry between the Śungās on the one side and the people under the leadership of the Jaina monk Kālīksūri—Consequent emigration of the Jaina people into the south.*

Nominal Śunga rulers and the end of the dynasty under uncommon circumstances–Some details about the Kaṇva ministers–The religion and the religious fanaticism of the Śungās and their actions on account of this.

A Short survey of the extents of the territories of Śunga kings.

(2-3) ODRAK AND BHĀGVAT

Hither-to our method of narration was to give a connected account of a particular dynasty and then to devote a separate chapter to the extents of the territories of every king in the dynasty, so that the reader might be in a position to have a general idea of the increase or decrease in the territorial extent during the rule of a dynasty. The Śunga dynasty, unlike other dynasties, lasted for only 90 years, and except one or two powerful kings, all were nominal rulers in the line. Again, very little is known of the kings, who were above the average in the line. Taking these things into consideration, we have not given a separate chapter to the extent of territories; we have, in this chapter, first given the account of the remaining Śunga kings, and then, in the remaining part of the chapter, an idea of the general territorial extent during the rule of the dynasty. We start with the account of the kings.

The Purāṇās state that Odrak was somewhat beyond the ordinary calibre. The rock-inscription of Kauśambī-Prabhās also proves that he gave a considerable amount of gold in charity during the period from 10th to 14th year of his reign. This means that his reign lasted at least for fifteen to seventeen years. The Jaina books[1] state that Puṣyamitra-Agnimitra ruled for thirty years[2], and Balamitra and Bhānumitra ruled for the next sixty years. We have shown in the foregoing pages that the last sixty years of the Śunga dynasty are not to be assigned to Balamitra and Bhānumitra only; but by Balamitra and Bhānumitra, the Jaina historian meant "Balamitra, Bhānumitra and others." The Purāṇās[3] give us the

(1) Vide vol. I. pp. 195 and further.

(2) Balamitra and Bhānumitra were the immediate successors of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra. See f. n. no. 3 below.

(3) Vide Buddhiprakāś vol. 76, pp. 89; It is stated there on the authority of the Vāyupurāṇ that Vasumitra will be succeeded by Odrak. We know that Vasumitra died during the life-time of Agnimitra. So the writer of the Purāṇ must have meant to say that Agnimitra would be succeeded by Odrak who would be as valorous as Vasumitra, and that he would have to wage wars with foreigners. Cf. f. n. no. 2 above.

names Adrak-Odrak and Bhāg-Bhāgavat, where Jaina books give us Balamitra and Bhānumitra. We might safely come to the conclusion that Odrak and Balamitra were names of the same individual, and similarly, Bhāg or Bhāgavat was the same individual as Bhānumitra. Now, Mr. Vincent Smith is of the opinion that Bhāg or Bhāgavat alone ruled for 32 years. This seems to be far-fetched, because that way, the duration of the Śunga rule will have to be taken much more than 90 years—the recognized number for the dynasty. So, we may arrange things this way; Odrak and Bhāgavat or Bhāg combined, ruled for 32 years; the former for nearly seventeen years, and the latter for fifteen years. The remaining 28 years, we may ascribe to the remaining kings. We might also say that Odrak ruled for 16 years, and so did Bhāg[4]. We have given the table below:—

	A. M.	B. C.	
(2) Odrak or Balmitra[5]	353-369	174-158	16 years
(3) Bhāg or Bhāgavat[5]	369-385	158-142	16 years
			32 years

(4) It would be more correct to assign sixteen years to each. See the dynastic list given below.

(5) In Jaina books we find two pairs bearing the names, "Balamitra and Bhānumitra." Really speaking there was only one pair of the kind. Writers have committed several mistakes on account of the confusion arising out of this. If there remains any doubt about the pair, having been only one in number, several points are given below to clarify the issue.

BALAMITRA—BHĀNUMITRA

True	Imaginary
(1) Time : A. M. 350	(1) Time : A. M. 453
(2) Of Śunga dynasty.	(2) Family not known.
(3) Born of Brāhmaṇ parents who were landlords.	(3) Kṣatriya by birth.
(4) Emperors of Avantī together with the territory about Broach.	(4) Possibly vassals of Rṣabhadatta, son-in-law of Nahapāṇ, their territory was probably around Broach.

Over and above the names given above, Odrak–Adrak alias Balamitra, and Bhāg–Bhāgavat alias Bhānumitra, had other names also.

The different names given to them and other details

It will be known from the details given later on, that the Yona chiefs have given to Bhānumitra the name, "Kāśiputra–Bhāgaprad." A Jaina monk[6] has called Balamitra, Vikramāditya, which does not seem to be possible, because he has tried to prove[7] that Balamitra was none other than Śakāri Vikramāditya of the Gardabhil dynasty; and for that purpose he has fixed him as the contemporary of a learned Jaina monk named

(5) Followers of the Vedic religion.	(5) Followers of Jainism.
(6) Came to the throne one after another.	(6) Both were brothers and princes; never came to the throne.
(7) Nephews of Kāliksūri, who was a native of the south.	(7) Probably nephews of Kālikstūri of Gardabhil.

The confusion is probably due to the connection of both with Kālikstūri. But we should bear in mind that there were more than one persons of that name.

(6) His name is Muni Kalyāṇavijay. He is a close student of history, and highly reputed as such among the Jaina monks, few of whom have such pursuits to their credit.

Muni Śree Kalyāṇvijayaji is a profound scholar of history, indeed, one of the few Jaina monks who take interest in history.

(7) Vide "Nāgari Pracāriṇi Sabhā Patrikā," Vol. X, No. 4. Pp. 725, f. n. no. 44. (The whole article has been published by him under the title, "Jaina Kāla Gaṇanā." It has no less than 150 pages.

He has tried to prove, therein, that the names "Balamitra" and "Vikramāditya" signify the same individual. The reason given for this is rather etymological and farfetched. "Bala"=might or valour and "Mitra"=Sun; again, "Vikrama"=might or valour and "Āditya"=Sun. A glance at f. n. no. 5 above will convince us of the impropriety of this reason.

Again, his own statements made elsewhere, contradict this contention. According to him Vikramāditya belonged to the Gardabhila dynasty. Jaina books, (vide quotation Vol. I, P. 195 f. n. 33) on the other hand, definitely state that Balamitra, and, for the matter of that, Bhānumitra also, belonged to the Śunga dynasty. See f. n. no. 8 below.

Kāliksūri[8]. Details are given in f. n. no. 5 and 8 below, which the reader is requested to read in conjunction. Then, he will be convinced that the details about Balamitra given in this book are quite correct.

Let us now try to find out the relations between Odrak and Bhāg and also try to find out their common descent. A learned writer[9] has stated that Odrak was a son of Vasumitra, and succeeded him on the throne. We have, however, already proved above, that Vasumitra died during the life-time of his father Agnimitra, i. e. while Agnimitra was on the throne. So, the statement of the writer can be taken to mean that Odrak was the eldest son of Vasumitra, and that he was appointed heir-apparent on account of Vasumitra's death, and that he came to the throne of Avantī after Agnimitra's death. He might have assumed the name Balamitra. Jaina books[10] state that Balamitra was the immediate successor of Agnimitra.

Jaina books also state that some Balamitra and Bhānumitra were sons of Bhānumatī, the sister of the famous Jaina monk Kāliksūri, who was an accredited leader of Jainism in those times, and who was a native of the south. They were Brāhmins by caste. They were chiefs of a territory around Broach. All these details are aptly applicable to Balamitra and Bhānumitra of the Śunga dynasty, i. e. both the Purāṇās and the Jaina books agree in their account of these two kings. Hence, these details about them must be true.

From details given later on, it becomes clear that Bhāgavat

(8) We are not concerned here about the Jaina monks that bore the name Kāiksūri. That problem will be dealt with, in another publication by me. Reference to it, howewer, in f. n. no. 5 above, will show that "Balamitra" and "Vikramāditya" were separate individuals: the former belonged to the Śunga dynasty, while the latter belonged to the Gardabhīla dynasty.

(9) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. XX, No. 3-4, Pp. 302 "Sumitra being identical with Vasumitra of the Purāṇas. Odraka was his son and immediate successor."

(10) See f. n. no. 2. above.

was also called Kāśiputra[11]. This means that his mother's family was of the Kāśī side. If we read this, in conjunction with the details given in the previous paragraph, we might safely conclude that some Brāhmaṇa family from Kāśī, must have migrated towards the south and settled there as landlords. A daughter of the family must have been married with Vasumitra. Her name must have been Bhānumatī, who gave birth to Balamitra and Bhānumitra. Of course, both of them followed the Vedic religion like Agnimitra; and their mother's family were also devout followers of the same religion[12].

Of all the successors of Agnimitra, these two ruled for the longest period. Some details, found in rock-inscriptions, point that several important events took place during their rule. This contention is supported by the history of the Greeks also.

Their rule

After the death of Demetrius, the Bactrian king, Menander became the master of Bactrian territories in India. Euthidemos, the father of Demetrius, had subdued and annexed the whole region upto Ayodhya[13]; later on, however, Vasumitra had reconquered it from him[14]. Menander, again, won back the same region, and appointed, according to the custom followed during those times, governors over the several divisions into which the region was divided by him. These governors were called Kṣatrapas. They were by name, Bhūmak, Rājul—Rājuvul, and Antitialcidas respectively. Rājputāna, Saurāṣṭra and Sindh were allotted to

(11) See the paragraph below about "their rule" and especially f. n. nos. 24 & 25.

(12) Kāliksūri, the maternal uncle of Balamitra—Bhānumitra, was a Brāhmin by birth, (f. n. no. 5 above, and the list given in f. n. no. 27 below; also f. n. no. 28.), and the son of a landlord. Numerous persons who were Brāhmins by birth, embraced Jainism in those times. His career as a monk was brilliant and due to the wealth of his knowledge, he was ranked as the leading monk of his times.

(13) Vide the account of Demetrius further on.

(14) Vide pp. 48 & seq. above.

Bhūmak; Pāñchal and Mathurā—Sūrsen were allotted to Rājul, and Antitialcidas was entrusted with the governorship of the Punjab, Taxilā and other places. The boundaries of the provinces under the control of these governors were very close to those of the territory under the Śungas. So clashes occurred on the frontiers and sometimes culminated into wars between them.

The army of Bhūmak mainly consisted of the Bactrians[15] and the Śakas[16]. Of these the latter were very skilful archers[17]. In one of the battles that took place as a result of some border clash, Odrak—Balamitra died, pierced by the arrow thrown by one of the Śaka warriors[18]. This happened in about A. M. 369= B. C. 158. Bhāg-Bhānumitra succeeded him on the throne[19]. The first thing he did was to appoint Vāsudev, who belonged to the Kaṇva dynasty[20] and who followed the Vedic religion, as his prime—minister. Then he started with his army to fight against the Bactrians. He marched, however, towards Mathurā, avoided the western portion of Avantī, because it was there that his brother

(15) Demetrius and Menander had brought a large number of Bactrians with them. These Bactrians mixed with them.

(16) About B. C. 440, a large number of Śakas after crossing Sindh poured themselves into the region about Bhinnamāl (i. e. southern part of Jodhapur and the major portion of Śirohī). So, they had settled in India three hundred years ago. Vide the account of the Gardabhīla dynasty.

(17) The Gardabhīla king of Avantī was rendered powerless mostly by the archery of the Śakas. (Vide the account of the Gardabhīla dynasty, given at the end of this book). Though there is an interval of nearly a century between the two events—the death of Balamitra and the defeat of the Gardabhīla kings, yet it remains to be noted that the Śakas were the same.

(18) Vide B. Pr. Vol. 76, pp. 89. It has been stated there, on the authority of Vāyupurāṇ, " king Vasumitra will be succeeded by Odrak, who will have to fight against large hoards of Śakas. Pierced in the vital parts by an arrow thrown by a Śaka warrior, he will die."

(19) J. B. O. R. S. vol. XX, nos. 3-4, pp. 296:—"Bhāgavat is expressly styled Rājā-emperor."

(20) Read further the details about the downfall of the Śunga dynasty.

was killed two years ago, thus bearing the impression that the army of the enemy on that side was almost invincible. Hence it was Rājuvul, who had to confront him on the field of battle. Due to reasons still to be found out, Menander himself marched on the field of battle and his death took place[21] (B. C. 156=A. M. 371). We have reasons to believe, however, that inspite of the death of Menander, Rājuvul won the victory in the battle[22]. Thus the Śunga kings were defeated in wars that broke out at the same time in two different directions. In one of them was killed the yona emperor[23]. (There may have been an interval of a year between the two wars). As a result of this, there was an appreciable reduction in the territorial extent of the Śungas. In the north, the boundary line had to be receded to the southern banks of the Yamunā. On the west, Rājputānā, Sindh and Saurāṣṭra were annexed to the Bactrian kingdom. No attempt was made to reconquer any of these provinces. The Śungas were enslaved by amorous excesses in the harem. Any effort on their part would have been worse than useless.

One thing remains to be noted here. Near Avantī is situated the Sāñchī region, in which is the city of Vidiśā—Besnagar. This was the seat of the capital of the Maurya kings and of the Śungas as well. In Sāñchī is found even to-day a pillar with an inscription to the effect that Heliodorus, the representative of Antitialcidas, the governor of Takṣaśilā, had proclaimed himself as

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(21) Prof. Rhys Davids, in his "Questions of King Milinda" states:— "He died in camp in a campaign against the Indians in the valley of the Ganges" (on the authority of Plutarch).

(22) The reason for arriving at this conclusion is that Rājuvul probably assumed the title Mahākṣatrap from this time onward. (Vide his account given further on). He never submitted himself to the authority of the Śungas.

(23) See f. n. no. 21 above. The Purāṇās state that the Hindus fought two bloody battles against the yavanas. The first of them, as we have already stated, took place in B. C. 197; while the other took place in B. C. 158–56. Over and above these, numerous skirmishes and clashes had occurred between them.

a devotee of Kṛṣṇa[24] and as a friend of King Kāśiputra-Bhāgvat[25]. No solid reason or explanation can be advanced for this. However we may explain it as follows. Of the three governors appointed by Menander, Bhūmak had proved himself valorous by killing Odrak in a battle. In the second war, as we have already stated, died the emperor himself; whether he died while fighting or of any disease is not certain. The governor of Takṣaśilā may well have been afraid of the new Śunga king Bhānumitra, who, as the governor might have throught, killed the emperor himself. He might have also thought that, the region around Mathutā must have gone under the power of Bhānumitra. Afraid of an invasion of the Punjab, and his consequent defeat in a pitched battle against him, he might have taken this precautionary and conciliatory measure. So he might have sent his representative to the court of the Śunga king and instructed him to proclaim him as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa and a friend of the Śunga king. This might have taken place between B. C. 158 to 156, nearly B. C. 157.

The event described above may or may not have happened. It is centain, however, that the power of Heliocles, the Bactrian emperor, was quite on its way to decline in Bactria. At the same time, his most powerful governor, Menander, died in India. Consequently, Rājuvul proclaimed himself as an independent ruler of Mathurā. Bhūmak in Rājputāna, and Kusulak—Liak, who had succeeded Antitialcidas in the Punjab, followed suit. All these three Kṣatrapas assumed the title[26]-Mahākṣatrap.

Fourteen years after the death of Menander, Bhānumitra died in A. M. 385=B. C. 142. He had led a life of luxury. One incident that took place during this time deserves notice here.

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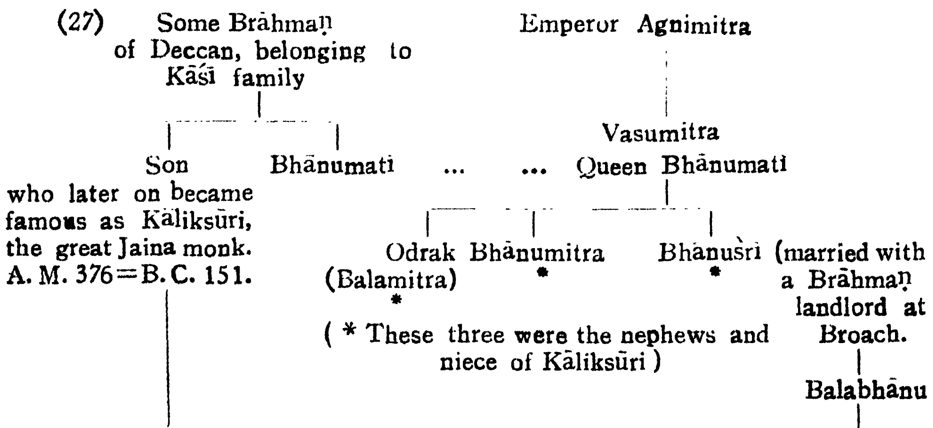
(24) C. H. I. pp. 558:—"(Antitialcidas) created in honour of Kṛṣṇa Vâsudev, a stone column at Besnagar (Bhilsā) by the yavana ambassador Haliodorus, who had come to king Kāśiputra, Bhāg-Bhadra, then in the fourteenth year of his reign."

(25) Read the paragraph entitled "His other names" for ascertaining as to whom "Kāśiputra"—"Bhāgavat" can be applied.

(26) Some changes will have to be introduced in these details. They will be mentioned later on. Vide his account.

Bhānumitra had a sister named Bhānuśrī[27]. She was married at Broach[28], a port which was under his power. She had a son named Balabhānu, who probably took holy orders under the preceptorship of the Jaina monk Kāliksūri, who happened to be his maternal uncle[29]. When this news reached the ears of the king of Avantī, he, either of his own accord or instigated by his Kāṇvāyana minister, issued an order to the effect that Kāliksūri was to be banished from his kingdom. Efforts were made to lessen the severity of the order[30]. The king was requested to allow the monk to remain within his territories as long as the monsoon was not over, because Jaina monks were, and are forbidden to travel from one place to another, during that season. The king, however proved adamant, and Kālikskūri had to leave his territory[31] even at the

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So he presided at the ordination ceremony of the son of his niece.

(28) Balamitra–Bhānumitra have been described as kings of Broach. (F. n. no. 5 above). They were really speaking the rulers of Avantī. Broach was at that time a flourishing and famous part under Avantī. Hence they were known as kings of Broach.

(29) The father-in-law of Bhānuśrī was probably a follower of the Vedic religion. So, when Balabhānu took the ordination, a natural enmity arose between the two families. The king himself was the maternal uncle of Balabhānu.

(30) The Jains tried their best to persuade the king to cancel the order.

(31) In Jaina books the term "The boundaries of Avantī" has been used for "The territorial extent of the king of Avantī." If we, however, accept that the term "The boundaries of Avantī" is capable of no other interpretation,

peril of violating his sacred religious tenet[32]. He repaired to Paithaṇ—Pratiṣṭhānpur in the Deccan. A large number of Jains also quitted the territory in sympathy with him. In the Deccan, the monk preached the gospel of Jainism to the king of Āndhra and reconverted him to Jainism[33], and got several important changes effected through him[34]. The Jainism was on its decline in Avantī, while it was having a firmer footing in Paithaṇ.

(4 to 7) ŚUNGA KINGS

Decline and fall of the Sunga dynasty

It seems that Bhāgvat was succeeded by nominal kings only. They engrossed themselves in court amours and pleasures. Their harem was the Alpha and Omega of their lives. The Kaṇva prime-ministers (who took position in B. C. 157) consolidated their power. From B. C. 157 to B. C. 114 (43 years), four Kaṇva prime-ministers, in succession, held all power in their hands. They were also vicious and lacking in character. Hence

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we have to understand that the ordination or the monsoon-stay of Kāliksūri or both took place in Avantī.

Looking to the distance between Broach and Avantī and the means of travel and transport during those times and to the nature of the quarrel between the people and the king, we may conclude that at least two or three months must have elapsed.

(32) Jaina monks are forbidden to travel during the rainy-season. Kāliksūri went away to Paiṭhaṇ under very exceptional circumstances.

(33) The first six or seven Āndhra kings were Jains. Under the influence of Patanjali, Śātakarṇi II, the 7th Āndhra king embraced the Vedic religion. His successors upto the fourth generation followed the same faith. At last this king reverted to Jainism.

(34) These changes have special connection with Jainism. Hence any details about them would be out of place here. Be it noted here, however, that Jaina books have recorded three monks bearing the same name—viz—Kālikṣūri. Details about them have been given in different books. A synthetic exposition of the whole problem has been given in an article by Muni Śrī Kalyāṇvijayji. This article appeared in a volume which was dedicated to the president of the Nāgarī Pracbāriṇi Sabhā, Kāśī (A. D. 1934). It consists of 25 pages. Of course, I differ from him in several points; but the exposition given therein is really commendable.

general laxity and deterioration prevailed over the whole territory under their power[35].

Śunga dynasty ended in A. M. 413=B. C. 114. From A. M. 385=B. C. 142 to A. M. 413=B. C. 114 (28 years), four Śunga kings came to the throne in succession. On the authority of the manuscript copies of Vayupurāṇ, the famous and learned writer, Diwān Bahādur Keśavalāl Harṣadrāy Dhruv, has prepared a dynastic list of the Śungas. It is given in vol. 76 of the "Buddhiprakāṣ." These twenty-eight years have been divided among the last four kings as follows:—3 for Ghoṣ, 7 for Vasumitra, 7 for Odrak and 10 for Devbhūti. Odrak, as we have already shown, is the name of a former king. So it would be better to substitute it with "Pulindik" which has also been suggested by the same writer.

We have seen that the statements made in the Purāṇās are not aways far from truth. Only, there have been found discrepancies in the matter of dates and periods assigned to various dynasties. In almost all the Purāṇās it is stated that Kāṇvāyana Brāhmins were the ministers of the Śunga kings, and that Vāsudev—one of the ministers—killed his master and established himself on the throne. This point deserves close scrutiny. We have already proved in the foregoing pages that no member of the Kāṇvāyana family ever ruled over Avantī from A. M. 1 to A. M. 470[36]. As a matter of fact, there exists no such gap. The whole period is covered by various dynasties that ruled over Avantī, one after the other. But, then, one would naturally ask the reason why the Purāṇās have unanimously given rise to this bother of the Kaṇvas. As to that, the conclusion arrived at by Dr. R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar seems to be correct. He states that the Śungas and the Kaṇvas were contemporaries. Moreover, it is stated on pp. 522 of The Cambridge History of India :—" Kaṇvas are expressly called ministers[37] of the Śungas, these Śungas and Kaṇvas seem to have

(35) Vide the previous chapter-the paragraph "The influence of horse-sacrifice."

(36) Vol. I. pp. 202.

(37) J. O. B. R. S. Vol. XX, no. 34, pp. 291:—One copy of Vāyupurāṇ states that Kaṇvas ruled in obedience to the commands of Devabhūmi."

For more details read the matter connected with f. n. no. 20, on pp. 67.

been contemporaries also." Hence, we deduce that Vāsudev, the first Kaṇva, did not kill Devbhūti, the last Śunga king; but while Suśarman, the last Kaṇva was the prime-minister, Devbhūti[38] was killed by some one else, or the prime—minister got him murdered. So the Kaṇvas were contemporaries of Śungas and were their ministers also—more powerful than the kings themselves. Both were followers of the Vedic faith. We may list them as follows:-

	Śungas[39]		Kaṇvas[40]	
(3)	Bhānumitra	16	Vāsudev	9
(4)	Ghoṣ	4	Bhūmimitra	13
(5)	Pulindik	7	Nārāyaṇ	12
(6)	Vāsudev II	7	Suśarman	10
(7)	Devabhūti	10		
		44[41]		44[41]

(38) Historians have stated that Suśarman was killed by Śrīmukh, the founder of the Āndhra dynasty. This seems to be rather improbable. In Hāthīguṁfā inscriptions, Khārvel, Śrīmukh and Bṛhaspatimitra have been stated to have been contemporaries. Then Bṛhaspatimitra has been mistakenly stated to have been but another name of Puṣyamitra, a contemporary of Śrīmukh. Hence arose the confusion. In order to arrange things at least on the surface, historians concluded that Śrīmukh killed Devabhūti, the last Śunga king, while really it was no Śunga king—Puṣyamitra (?)—who was killed by him. But then came the difficulty of re-adjusting matters about the Kaṇvas. So the above stated conclusion was a bit changed by them. Devabhūti was murdered by Suśarman and this Suśarman was murdered by Śrīmukh. Thus a regular edifice of false conclusion was erected. We have proved in the account of Puṣyamitra how wrongly-based these conclusions are.

Vedic religion had the upper hand in those times. The four Kaṇvas were the ministers of the Śunga kings.

(39) Vide pp. 71. P. D.

(40) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928, pp. 46:—"Devabhūti, the last of the Śungas was put to death by his minister of the Kānvayan gotra."

(41) The total number of years allotted to the Kaṇvas is 44. The last four Śunga kings ruled for twenty-eight years. So the remaining 16 years have to be assigned to Bhānumitra.

We have stated that all these Śunga kings led a vicious life. Devbhūti topped them all. Mr. Vincent Smith states[42]:—" In a frenzy of passion, the overlibidinous Śunga was, at the instance of his minister Vāsudev, reft of his life by a daughter of Devbhūti's slave-woman, disguised as his queen. (Bāṇa, Harṣa Charit Ch. vi; trans. Cowell Thomas Pp. 193). Thus ended the Śunga dynasty in B. C. 114.

Jaina books render us significant help in deciding the dynasty that succeeded the Śungas on the throne of Avantī. The conclusion thus arrived at, is further supported by the evidence based on coins. It was the Śaka chief Nahapāṇ who seized the throne of Avantī after the Śungas. The circumstances under which he did so are dealt with in chapters on "Foreign Invaders"—given further on. We shall close this chapter with some more details about the Śungas.

The Śunga dynasty ended 114 B. C. i. e. nearly at the end of the second century B. C. Christianity was yet to come in existence after nearly a century and more. So in India, three faiths existed in those times, the Vedic religion, Buddhism, and Jainism. Of these, Buddhism, after having a brilliant time during the reign of Aśok, was almost non-existent at this time. So we have here to consider two faiths, Jainism and the Vedic.

The faith that they followed

The founders of the Śunga dynasty—Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra were under the powerful and all—pervading influence of Patañjali who had made them perform the two Aśvamedha sacrifices, referred to in the foregoing pages. Moreover, a royal proclamation had been issued to the effect that anyone who cut off the head of a Jaina monk and presented it at the court, was to be given a prize of one hundred dinārs. This proves that they were staunch followers of the Vedic religion. Again, one of the later Śunga kings had issued, as we have already stated, an order that Kāliksūri, the Jaina monk, was to quit the boundaries of Avantī, even during the rainy season, when Jaina monks were

(42) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 20; C. H. I. pp. 522.

forbidden from travelling from one place to another. All these things go to prove that the Śunga kings were followers of the Vedic faith.

The devotion of the Śungas to the faith they followed had brought about several results. One of them was the determined and sustained resistance which they offered to the continuous and powerful onslaughts of foreigners. In former times, foreign nations had many a time invaded India; but they always came to India with a view to enrich themselves with the booty of the wars they waged, and then quit India for a time in order to invade it again with the same purpose in their minds. On the other hands, the foreigners who began to pour themselves in India, during the time of the Śungas, had decided to settle in the land for all time to come. We have seen, how a war broke out between the Śungas and the foreigners when the latter stopped the career of the sacrificial horse of the Śungas[43]. A representative of the yona chief had got a pillar erected in the capital of the Śungas, as a token of the yona chief's devotion to the faith of the Śungas[44]. The Śungas as we know, had declared a large sum of money as a prize against the heads of Jaina monks[45]. All these things point to the fact that the Śungas' devotion to their faith, more often than not, bordered on fanaticism and religious intolerance. The Purāṇās and even Paṇḍit Tārānath, the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi have stated that yonas were now—Āryans, even though, really speaking they were not so[46]. They have called them "Mlechchhas"[47].

(43) Vide the account of Agnimitra; the political condition prevailing at the time when the Aśvamedha sacrifice was begun.

(44) Vide the account of king Bhāgvat.

(45) Vide the account of king Kalki.

(46) Details about terms "Āryan," "Non-Āryan" and all details about foreign invaders will be given in the next part.

(47) We will not bother ourselves with very old times here. In the second century B. C., however, we may note that the foreigners were referred to as "Yavanas" or "Śakas." The term "Mlechchha" came into use in the 7th century A. D. when the Hījarī Era began; and hence we find it in Rājataraṅgiṇī,

But in spite of their religious bigotry and with all their licentiousness, that fact remains to be prominently noted that, but for their determined resistance to the onslaughts of these foreigners, the subsequent history of India would have been different.

We have proved that the rule of the dynasty lasted for 90 years. Of the nine kings that succeeded one another, only two can be described as powerful—Agnimitra and Balamitra—Bhānumitra. The rest were nominal kings. Puṣyamitra and Vasumitra we have included with Agnimitra.

The territorial extent of the Śungas

In the accounts of these kings full details have been given about the causes and effects of all the wars waged by them.

At the end of the Maurya dynasty, the territorial extent of the kingdom of Avantī was as large as that of Central India Agency to-day. Even on a small territory like this, the yonas had begun to cast longing and voracious eyes. Fearing that the kingdom of Avantī would for ever be ruined and would come under the power of the yonas, Agnimitra killed his master and seized the throne.

At first, he consolidated his power over the territory that came under his control. Next he plunged himself into the task of driving out the yonas from the provinces in northern India, and he did drive them out. After his death, Balamitra and Bhānumitra succeeded him, and being rather good sort of kings, maintained the status quo. Their successors, however, were very weak and the yonas reconquered all the territories which they had yielded to Agnimitra.

Part 6

PART 6
FOREIGN INVASIONS



Chapter I

Foreign Invasions

Synopsis:—*A short account of foreign invasions from the 6th century B. C. to the 3rd century B. C.—Names of the five foreign peoples who invaded India after that—their origin—A geographic description of Jambūdwīp and Ṣākadwīp, referred to by the ancient writers,—More details about Ṣākadwīp—Meanings of "Ṣākadwīp," "Ṣākadwīp" and "Ṣākasthān" and confusions that have arisen out of them in ancient Indian History—Migration of the ancient people from the place of their origin—territories occupied by these people at present and details about them.*

Foreign Invasions

Foreign invasions

We have seen that India was at the zenith of prosperity in the 6th century B. C. The Punjab and the Frontier Provinces were in those times called Gāndhār and Kamboj. King Pulusāki ruled over them. In B. C. 551, he started on his way to meet Śreṇik, the emperor of Magadh and died just on the borders of the Magadha empire. It seems that either Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian dynasty or emperor Darius annexed these provinces to the Persian empire[1]; and Herodotus tells[2] that a governor—kṣatrap—was appointed over them and that he had to send a fixed amount of gold-dust—Tejanturi—to the emperor, as tribute. Another border province on the west, which comprises at present Sind, Baluchistān and the western portion of Rājputānā, over which stretch at present the deserts of Tharpārkar and Jesalmīr, and which was then known as Sind-Sauvīr, was at that time

(1) C. H. I. pp. 329:—Cyrus the Great carried on campaigns with Indian borders, through east of Irān sometimes between B. C. 558 and B. C. 530, the limits of his reign.

Ibid. Pp. 330:—"It is doubtful whether he attained suzerainty over the Indian frontier itself."

Ibid. Pp. 331:—"An embassy was sent to Cyrus by an Indian king."

Ibid. Pp. 332:—"Both Nearchus (Alexānder's admiral) and Megasthenes deny that Cyrus ever reached India."

Ibid. Pp. 613:—"Cyrus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of the Hindukuś and in the Kābul valley, especially the Gāndhārians. Darius himself advanced as far as the Indus."

(2) C. H. I. pp. 335:—"Herodotus III, 94; cf. iii, 89:—"The Punjab was a part of the realm of king Darius about B. C. 518. In addition to the evidence of the inscriptions, the fact that a portion of northern India was incorporated in the Achemenian Empire under Darius is attested by the witness of Herodotus, who, in giving a list of the twenty Satrapies or Governments that Darius established, expressly states that the Indian realm was the twentieth division—the population of the Indians is by far the greatest of all the people we know; and they paid a tribute proportionately larger than all the rest; the sum of the three hundred and sixty talents of gold-dust; this immense tribute was equivalent to over a million pounds sterling and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the levy imposed upon the Asiatic provinces."

ruled by king Udāyan. He entered the Jaina holy orders and became a monk and his nephew succeeded him on the throne. Once, the monk, during his sojourns from one place to another, went to his own territory with a view to preach the gospel of Jainism to his nephew. Misled by the minister, the king made an attempt to poison the monk–his maternal uncle. The attempt proved unsuccessful and the monk escaped death simply by a stroke of fortune. The capital of the kingdom and a large portion of the territory, however, were buried forever by a sand–storm which poured heaps and heaps of sand over the whole province[3]. All these details have already been given in vol. I. pp. 217 to 220. It is probable that the Persian emperor had cast his eye over this kingless province and had annexed it to the empire[4]. This contention is supported by Persian history. The Punjab was probably taken over by emperor Cyrus, while this province was annexed by emperor Darius[5].

One trait of these invasions, which should be noted here, is that the invaders never thought of settling permanently in India. They invaded the land like a passing wind—storm, and again everything was calm and clear.

These invasions were followed by a period during which the powerful Persian emperors conquered territories from the comparatively weaker Indian emperors, and the latter, in their turn, when stronger than the former, used to pay off old scores. So provinces came under the power of the one or the other as the pendulum of power swayed from the one to the other. Nearly two centuries later, came a great change. At that time Alexānder the great,

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(3–4) C. H. I. pp. 337:—(Sir M. A. Stein). He says that the part of the Indian territory (of Darius) towards the rising sun is sand; the eastern part of India is a desert on account of sand. (This proves that Darius had subjugated Sind, the major part of which was at that time a desert. In vol. I. we have noted that Vīttabhayapaṭṭaṇ, the capital of the province was buried under the sands. The situation of this city was the region where we find to–day the district of Lārkhānā and the Mohan–jā–ḍero excavations).

(5) For the dynastic list of the Persian emperors. Vide vol. I. pp. 70. f. n. no. 4.

the ambitious young emperor, was the ruler of Greece. After years of persistent struggle and bravery, he subjugated and brought under his power all the territory lying between Greece and India. In B. C. 327, he and his army encamped themselves on the banks of the Indus, which then formed the western boundary of India. Fortunately for India, Bindusār, the weak-minded Mauryan emperor, had just died. During his rule a rebellious state of things prevailed in the Punjab. The chiefs there fought against one another; bloody battles were the order of the day. Alexānder took advantage of this situation and with one sweep, defeated them all and subjugated the whole territory. As marks of his victory he founded several new cities and got several forts built. Of course no traces of their existence are found to-day, as all of them were destroyed in course of time.

Alexānder stayed in India for eighteen months only. Had he stayed longer, the subsequent history of India would have told a different tale. Bindusār was succeeded on the throne by Aśok, a resolute and powerful king. We have already described the meeting between Aśok and Alexānder, in the camp of the latter[6]. The Greek emperor had seen that he had a formidable adversary to overcome in that young emperor. Moreover, his own soldiers had become homesick and urged him to start homewards as soon as possible. So Alexānder had to depart from India and his dream of conquering the whole of Indian empire remained unfulfilled. On his way back to Greece, he appointed his own generals as governors over the provinces he had conquered, and to the chiefs in the Punjab he gave over their territories. The momen the turned his back upon the Punjab, these chiefs began to quarrel with one another. As a result of this, all the yavana generals in the Punjab were massacred. All these things have already been described in details in Vol. II. Pp. 211 to 221. We may call this the second foreign invasion[7]. Aśok had reconquered all the territory immediately after this.

(6) Vide vol. II. pp. 212 & seq. and f. n. there.

(7) Details as to what the foreigners did in India during their stay are given elsewhere. Vide vol. II. pp. 211 to pp. 221.

On his way back home, Alexānder died in 323 B. C. His generals quarrelled with one another for the throne of Greece[8]. At last a general named Seleucus proved himself to be more powerful than the rest, and seized the throne. The first years of his rule he spent in consolidating his power at home. As soon as this task, however, was over, thoughts of conquering India and of completing the task begun by his late master, began to swarm his mind. He invaded India several times; 11 times according to some historians, and 17 times according to others. All these invasions proved more or less fruitless, and at last he had to make peace with Aśok and sign a peace-document containing terms very humiliating for him[9]. This may be described as the third foreign invasion.

Fortune, however, ceased to smile on India from this time onwards. The fourth foreign invasion brought about quite different consequences. Weak kings occupied most of the thrones in the provinces in India, and as weak kings do everywhere, they pursued the policy of persecuting their own subjects. All these circumstances proved helpful to the foreign invaders, some of whom came to India, not merely to conquer her, plunder her and then go away, but to settle permanently and make her their home. The peoples who thus invaded India with the intention of making her their home were:—(1) Bactrians, (2) Pārthians, or Palhavas, (3) Śakas or Scythians. (4) Kṣaharāṭas or Kṣatrapas[10], (5) Kuśānas.

Writers of history are not unanimous in their accounts of these foreigners. They have given different theories about their places of origin and have given proofs which support their theories. They contradict one another to the point of confusion.

(8) Ind. Ant. xxxvii (1908), pp. 25:—"Within two years of Alexānder's death, the Greek power over the east of the Indus was over."

(9) Vide vol. II. pp. 246, f. n. no. 99.

(10) "Kṣatrap" is a title. Scholars, however, have somehow concluded that all the Kṣatrapas belonged to the Kṣaharāṭ community. The real name was Kṣaharāṭas.

The history of their origin

We have had, pretty often, recourse to Vedic and Jaina books, in elucidating material useful for a thorough understanding of the history of ancient India. We shall tap the same source here.

India, according to ancient books, formed an integral part of Jambūdwīp. It was called " Bharatkhaṇḍ. " Two kinds of people inhabited it—the Āryans and the Non-Āryans. Some details about Jambūdwīp are given below for a clear understanding of things.

Details about Jambudwip

Ancient people held different views about our earth. It is stated in Jaina books that just half the portion of the earth was solid land, while the remaining half was water. The shape of the earth was round. There was an island just in the centre. Round the island was ocean—also round—but double in area. Round that ocean again was an island, double in area to the ocean. And round that island again was ocean, double in area to the preceding island, and so on.

The island at the centre, and the smallest at that, was called Jambūdwīp. Its area was one hundred thousand yojanas. In the centre of the island was a mountain, named Merū. The area north to the mountain was called North Jambūdwīp, and the area south to the mountain was called South Jambūdwīp[12],

(11) At present it is understood that, only India was called "Bharatkhaṇḍ" in ancient times; really speaking the term means the "Empire of king Bharat," and it included within it many more territories besides India.

In some books we find phrases like "in the kingdom of Magadh lying in the Southern Bharatakhaṇḍ of Jambūdwīp." This means that there were two or more Bharatakhaṇḍas in ancient times. Cf. f. n. no. 12 below.

(12) Just as Jambūdwīp was divided into two parts–Northern and Southern–by a range of mountains, so is India divided into two parts at present, by the Vindhyā ranges; and the rivers Tāpī, Mahī, Narmadā flow on one side of the mountain, while the Ganges, the Indus and the Brhamaputrā flow on the other. This has led scholars to come to the conclusion that India was called Jambūdwīp in ancient times. We have shown that this is not true. Some points, which go against this contention are stated below:—

Numerous rivers flowed from the mountain, in all directions. The regions enclosed between these rivers had their own separate names.

No book has stated anything about the countries of which Jambūdwīp consisted. I have attempted below to arrive at some conclusions about it from whatever pieces of evidence I have come upon.

(Modern people might well doubt the authenticity of the description of the earth as given in Jaina books. They would say that the earth as a whole has been proved round, but its being surrounded by a consecutive series of oceans and islands, round in shape and each succeeding one double the preceding in area, has yet to be proved. To them it would be sufficient to say that all the conclusions, arrived at by modern scientists, about earth and the whole universe, are also based upon certain hypothetic data which we know; in the case of conclusions arrived at by ancient writers, unfortunately enough, we are not conversant with the hypothesis upon which they based those conclusions. And after all, why should we condemn a thing as false and imaginary just because it is ancient or stated in ancient books ? Or, for the matter of that, why should we look upon ancient books with an eye of incredulity ? Why should we not try to find all truth about them or have the patience to examine them with an impartial attitude of mind ? What solid reason, on earth, can we advance for a mere matter of prejudice ? As the poet has truly observed, " Everything seems yellow to the jaundiced eye."

(a) The area of Jambūdwīp is much larger than that of India. (See f. n. no. 13).

(b) Jambūdwīp was surrounded by an ocean on all sides; India is not. Jambūdwīp has not been described as a peninsula in any book.

(c) See f. n. no. 11 above. Magadh has been described to have been situated in the "Southern Bharatakhaṇḍ of Jambū." If India were called Jambūdwīp, the position of Magadh should have been described not in "Southern Bharatkhaṇḍ" but in "Bharatakhaṇḍ" only, or at least for the sake of accuracy in "Northern Bharatakhaṇḍ." This shows that "Bharatakhaṇḍ" and "India" were different and that there were two or more "Bharatakhaṇḍas." (Cf. f. n. no. 11 above.)

One hundred thousand yojans have been stated to be the area of Jambūdwīp. That would mean only eight hundred thousand miles. The area of India alone has been calculated to be 27 lacs (twenty seven hundred thousand) of miles. (1500 miles East to West, and 1800 miles North to South). Again, it is certain that Jambūdwīp included within it many more countries besides India[13], and had, consequently, a much larger area. Hence, we come to the conclusion that one hundred thousand yojans denote, not the area of Jambūdwīp, but its diameter. In ancient books "Pramāṇ" was the word used for diameter, as it has been in the description of Mt. Śatruñjay[14]. Calculating that way the area of Jambūdwīp comes to 325 lacs of miles. I have given below some figures which I have borrowed from "The Royal Indian World Atlas[15]." A glance at them will convince the reader that the area

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(13) See f. n. no. 12 above.

(14) Vide "Jaina Dharma Prakāś"–(published from Bhāvanagar)–V. E. 1989, vol. 49, no. 5. My article on the "Meanings of the word "Koṭi" will be found there.

(15) [a] **Earth** (as regards its area of various lands).

Countries		**Area Sq. Miles**
Europe	...	3,756,970
Asia	...	17,212,680
Australia	...	2,964,000
Africa	...	11,514,770
N. America	...	7,900,350
S. America	...	6,854,100
	Total	50,202,870

Further, the area of the whole portion of land on the earth has been calculated to 52,000,000; so the remaining 1,800,000 (52,000,000 less 50,202,870) may be distributed among the various island-groups scattered over the oceans.

[b] **Earth** (on the whole) **Sq. Miles**

Land 52,000,000
Water 145,500,000 = The ratio of land to water is 1 : 2·8

While taken separately:—

Eastern Hemisphere

Land 44,000,000
Water 55,000,000 = The ratio of land to water is 1 : 1·2

of what we call to-day "The Eastern Hemisphere" is almost the same. Again in that hemisphere the area covered by the oceans is almost double the area covered by land. The author requests his incredulous readers to give some more attention to things stated in ancient books and promises them that what they think to be rubbish and useless, will turn out to be worth its weight in gold or even more than that, if they take the trouble to institute an impartial and unbiassed inquiry into them.

Let us now try to arrive at conclusions based on the information given above. (1) If we try to draw a straight line from west to east in the Eastern Hemisphere, it will pass through the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Caspean Sea, the territory round the river Oxus–the two branches of which are known as Āmudariā and Sirdariā–in Asian Turkey, and through the range of mountains upto Śānghāi and Canṭon. Then the line will pass through the ocean upto its far end in the east. This very line can be stated as the dividing line between Northern and Southern Jambūdwīp. (2) This leads us to believe that the Mount Merū probably was the natural dividing line between these two parts of Jambūdwīp. (Does modern city of "Merva" or part round it signify the position of Mount Merū ?) (3) In course of time, as we now know, numerous changes take place on the surface of the earth. Mountains sink into oceans and land pops up at a place where formerly "rolled the Deep." Hence, we might conclude that one side of Merū must have sunk into the ocean in course of time, while the other must have heaved up. (4) One of such sunken parts, where formerly must have been level land, must be the modern Mediterranean Ocean, while in other parts of the mountain, on account of uneven shrinkage or alternate sinking and upheaval,

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Western Hemisphere

Land	8,000,000	=	The ratio of land to water is 1 : 11·3
Water	90,000,000		

From the view-point of area, we have seen that the ratio of land to water in the Eastern Hemisphere is 1 : 1.2; but if we consider the depth of the Pacific and also of other oceans in it and take into consideration the ratio of the volumes of land to water, we can safely state that the quantity of water in it was double the cubic miles of land in it.

we find to-day the lake of Ural[16], the Caspean Sea[17] the sea of Mārmorā and the Black Sea. (5) Of these seas, only the lake of Ural has got drinkable water, the others being full of salt water. The rivers Oxus and Xerses flow into it. (Generally rivers flow from lakes[18] but not into them. Jaina books contain the mention of two rivers which had their source in Merū and which flowed in opposite directions from that just as the Indus and the Ganges do. These two rivers may probably have been the Xerses and the Oxus.) (6) The mountain ranges on the east of the city of Merva seem to have gone higher up. (7) Śakadwīp has been described as a part of Jambūdwīp; but it would be better to treat it separately, as is done below.

One large part of Jambūdwīp[19] was called Śakadwīp. It is believed that it consisted of the western and southern portions of Jambūdwīp. In course of time, however, several far-reaching

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(16) tt is also called the sea on account of its large area. It is called a lake because its water is drinkable.

Generally oceans are connected with one another, and their water is salt. So it would be better to call Ural, a lake.

(17) Though the water of the Caspean sea is salt, it does not fulfil the other condition of "seas," i. e. it is not connected with other seas. It is called a sea simply because of its large area. (Cf. with f. n. no. 16).

(18) Only three or four lakes of this kind are found. (1) Ural (2) Hāman in Afghānistān (3) Some lakes in North America.

(19) M. S. I. pp. 44:—"Of the seven dwīpas, described in ancient literature, the name of one was Śakadwīp. It consisted of the whole of present western Asia. Persia had a province in it named "Sacae." People living in it were called "Śakas." According to Manu, the Śakas, the Kambojas, the Pahlavas, the Pāradas and the Yavanas lived in these territories of Śakadwīp. One of the kings of the Śakas was named "Cyrus." (Read further).

"Bhagavān Pārśvanāth"—(published from Surat in 1987), pp. 170:—"A European scholar has tried to prove that Śakadwīp was the name of modern Egypt. (Vide Asia. Research, vol. III, pp. 100). He also stated that it was inhabited by giants and so was called "Rokhāsten." This place was none other than the modern Alexandria." (Ibid, pp. 189).

(Read in conjunction, these extracts give us the idea (a) that the Śakadwīp stretched from Persia to Egypt, (b) that the portion of Africa on the west of Egypt was included in it, and (c) that it was included within the Jambūdwīp).

changes have taken place. Parts of it are now covered with water, and other parts have heaved up. It is subdivided into many parts. It must have consisted of the Māḍāgāskar group of islands, of the Scychilles group, of the Arabian peninsula, of Lakhhadivas and Māldivas etc.[20] We need not enter into details about the exact truth or otherwise of its correct boundaries. The experts in the subject may better deal with it. Certain details given in Jaina and Vedic books may, however, be mentioned here. They give us to understand that Śākadwīp must have been a large island. It is stated in those books that Lav, the son of Rām, ruled over one of its parts.[21]. Śāmbakumār[22], the son of Kṛṣṇa, also ruled over Śākadwīp. The late Sir Jivaṇji Modi[23], a deep scholar, was also of the opinion that Śākadwīp consisted of modern Persia[24] and the territory to the west of it. Another student of Vedic books has proved that the Greek islands-Crete and Ionion,-formed the extreme western boundary of Śākadwīp. All these things lead us to conclusion that the whole of modern Persia and the western portion of Afghanistan were then included

Details about Śākadwīp

(20) Some scholars are of the opinion that Śākadwīp included within it Australiā, Jāvā, Sumātrā and other islands.

(21) This does not necessarily mean that the seats of their capitals were there; only the territory was under their rule.

(22) See f. n. no. 24 below.

(23) Sir Jivaṇjī died while this (Guj. edi.) volume was being printed.

(24) Vide pp. 11, "Buddhiprakāś," July number, vol. 76. Therein is printed a lecture delivered by him under the auspicies of The Gujarāt Vernācular Society. "The Śakas came from the west and spread themselves into Afghānistān, the Punjab and Central India."

"Indian books tell us that they were the descendants of Nakṣubhā, the daughter of sage Rigihva—Rujuhva—of the Sun and Mihir family. Her son's name was Jarāśast or Jarāṣabad—the name which Mr. Bhāṇḍārkar thinks to be connected with Zeroaster, the Pārsī prophet. It is said that Zeroaster started the Mag sect of the Brāhmaṇas. He was first brought to India by Śāmba, the son of Kṛṣṇa, and he was called "Bhojak." So were called the Magas. Round their waist they used to fasten a piece of string. Their family name was Mihir or "Mehar"-(Persian.) "

in Śākadwīp.[25]. If the above-stated conclusion is proved beyond cavils of doubt, we can also deduce that the portion of land[26] with the Cāspean Sea on the north and the mouth of the Indus in the south, must have been the ocean dividing Śākadwīp from Jambūdwīp in those times. An earthquake or some other gigantic calamity must have transformed the ocean into land, in the course of time. At the time of such changes, shallow parts of the ocean heave up and become land, while the deeper parts thus become surrounded by land on all sides: and thus we have small seas[27] and lakes[28]; we have at present, as testimonies of these changes, two large and one small lakes[29] in that part. In short, if we draw a line from the Cāspean Sea in the west, upto the city of Herāt in the east in Afghanistan and then extend the line southwards upto port Guādar, we might say that the territory on the east of this line was Jambūdwīp, and the territory on the other side of line was Śākadwīp[30]. Ancient books tell us that the people residing in Śākadwīp were called Śakas.

Śākadwīp, Śakadwīp and Sakasthān

The common word in these terms is "Śaka" and all are obviously connected with people named Śakas. Some scholars believe that all the three terms are names of the same territory—the territory inhabitated by the Śakas. Others are of the opinion that nothing definite is known about the place of origin of these invaders—the five foreign peoples—and that all

(25) According to my opinion some changes need be introduced in this; for that, read the paragraph "Śakadwīp and Śākadwīp" above.

(26) The area which now consists of Khorāsān and Śeistān. See the map.

(27) For instance, the Cāspean Sea.

(28) The water of a lake is drinkable, while that of the sea is not. This enables us to decide whether a particular expanse of water must have been originally a part of the ocean or not.

(29) See lakes, Hāman, Hāmanamārśa and Gpdisarāh in the map. Their waters are drinkable. (Cf. f. n. no. 18 above). Several rivers-five or six-flow into the third lake (cf. f. n. no. 18); it resembles Ural in this matter.

(30) This piece of land cannot be called a portion of Śākadwīp. It is the result of the sea,—that divided Śakadwīp and Jambūdwīp,—turning into land. Again this portion is nearer Jambūdwīp, and may be called a part of it.

theories that have been advanced so far, cannot be given a better name than surmises. They also say that these things may be properly stated as belonging to one of the "Dark periods" in history—periods about which very little is known and which are the missing links in the chain of history. We have had to deal with several periods of this kind in the preceding two volumes of the book, and we have thrown some light upon them. Let us attempt to do something of the sort here.—

(1) Śākadwīp:—Some details about Śākadwīp have already been given in the foregoing pages. Some more details are given below:—

If we accept all the extracts given above from Jaina and Vedic books to be true, the dividing line would be from A to B (See the map on the opposite page). According to my opinion the dividing line must have been from C to D. If the line had been from A to B, lakes Hāman and others must have their waters salt, they being taken to have been originally, parts of the ocean. But it is not so. We have, again stated above that the Greek islands of Crete and Ionian were on the extreme borders of Śākadwīp; this leads us to conclude that the piece of land, now called Asia Minor, was a sea in those times. We have also stated that a large part of Africa was included in Śākadwīp. All these things can be brought into accord only if the region between E and D—i. e. from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf, or the region between C and D,–i. e. from the Cāspean Sea to the Persian Gulf—, may be taken to have been covered with water[31] in those days. Be that as it may, the peninsula of Arabia must be accepted as having emerged from the ocean that divided Śākadwīp from Jambūdwīp. And this seems to be the truth. The major part of Arabia consists of sand–probably of the sea that

(31) This means that "there rolled the Deep" where now we see Asia Minor, Turkey, a part of Persia and—as we shall prove later on,—a part of Arabia. This sea divided Jambūdwīp from Śākadwīp. When this sea turned into land, it was called a part of Śākadwīp. (M. S. I. pp. 44; f. n. no. 19 above).

This piece of land is referred to in the description of Śākadwīp on pp. 88 as a southern branch from the Cāspean Sea.

once surged below. In other words, if the line E D may be taken as terminating at the western frontiers of Jambūdwīp, the whole of Persia would have to be included in it; or if the line C D be taken as the dividing line, then we may exclude from Persia its western portion, as not to be included in Jambūdwīp. Once we grant that Persia formed an integral part of Jambūdwīp, we should also grant that the whole stretch of territory lying between Persia and India–Afghanistan and Baluchistan–was also within Jambūdwīp. The boundaries of Bharatakhaṇḍ extended far beyond the western banks of the Indus–upto the western borders of Persia.[32] The ancient books tell us that Lav, the son of Rām, and Śāmb, the son of Kṛṣṇa, ruled over Śākadwīp. This means that they ruled, not over Afghanistan or Persia, (because they were parts of Jambūdwip), but over Africa. Had their rule been over Afghanistan or Persia, the writers would have written that they ruled over a portion of Jambūdwīp. This also proves that so long as Kṛṣṇa was alive, i. e. during the Mahābhārata wars, Śākadwīp and Jambūdwīp were separate. By the time, however, the Śrutis and Smṛtis were composed (B. C. 900), the two continents were joined by the land that emerged from the ocean lying between them; because the place of origin of these writers of Śrutis and Smṛtis was Śakadwīp. So during the time that elapsed between the Mahābhārata wars and the composition of these sacred books, some momentous natural calamity must have taken place, causing the sea to be transformed into land. According to Jaina books, Nemināth, the twenty-second Tīrthaṁkar, * was

(32) The change here means the union of Jambūdwīp with Śākadwīp by land. We need not enter into details as to when this event actually took place. We shall discuss it on a proper occasion. It is important to decide the time of this change, because that would help us to decide the dates of Mahābhārat and Rāmāyaṇ.

Many scholars of the Vedic books have come to the conclusion that B. C. 3201 was the year of Mahābhārata wars. Lokamānya Tilak also is of the same opinion. General Sir Cunningham also agrees with them in his "Book of Ancient Eras."

* The age of a new Tīrthaṁkar begins after he attains the Kaivalya stage. There is no need of entering into such minute details here.

the first cousin of Kṛṣṇa; this means that the Mahābhārata wars took place at the time, which has been fixed for Neminath. They also tell us (vide Vol I) that the Śrutis were composed nearly 100 or 150 years before the birth of Pārśvanāth, the twenty-third Jaina Tīrthaṁkar. (i. e. B. C. 778; Vide Vol. I. Pp. 29 and 94). So this natural calamity took place some time during the interval that intervened[33] between the time of Nemināth and that of Pārśvanath.

One thing may be noted here. The people inhabiting Śākadwīp are nowhere referred to as Śakas. It is clear that the Śakas had not connection with Śākadwīp.

(2) Śakadwīp:—On Pp. 532 and on Pp. 564 of C. H. I.[34] it has been stated that a Dwīp means "a country between two rivers." Then it is stated there that Śakadwīp means the Indus Delta. This region is enclosed within the many branches of the Indus, at the place where it flows into the ocean. Buddhist books state that Pātālnagar was situated here (Vide Vol. I. Pp. 212). Its shape is triangular. It is further stated therein:—"A few years later cir. B. C. 75,[35] there arose another formidable power on the west. The Scythians[36] (Śakas) of Seistān had occupied the delta of the Indus, which was known thereafter to Indian writers

(33) I have discussed this matter here in details because I intend to prove sometime in future that the date that has been fixed for the Mahābhārata wars (f. n. no. 32 above) requires to be changed.

Cf. vol. I. pp. 95. The Mohan-jā-ḍero excavations—in Lārkhānā district in the region around the Indus, are believed to be remains of a civilization more ancient than that of the Mahābhārata times, i. e. B. C. 5000 to 6000. Scholars believe that Mahābhārata civilization is some 3000 years junior to that of the Mohan-jā-ḍero excavations.

(34) C. H. I. pp. 562:—"Śaka-dwīp=the river country of the Śakas: Indus delta=Scythia or Indo-Scythia=Settlement of the Śaka people (pp. 569, f. n. no. 1).

(35) He means to say that the Śakas settled themselves in the Indus delta in about B. C. 75 and B. C. 57, and that Śakāri Vikramāditya began his Era in B. C. 57.

(36) The Śakas, who settled in the Indus Delta, were originally inhabitants of Śakasthān. (Cf. f. n. no. 19. M. S. I. pp. 44, quoted there).

as Śaka-dwip, the Doab of the Sakas, and to the Greek geographers as Indo-Scythia."[37]. This gives us to understand clearly that Śaka-dwīp was a territory entirely different from Śākadwīp. The latter was an island,[38] while the former was a delta. We are not concerned here with Brahamadwīp[39].

(3) Śakasthān:-We have noted above that Seistān or Scythiā was the place of origin of the Śakas. The boundaries,-as the map tells us-of the territory were, the Indus on the east, a line from Herāt to the southern sea on the west, the ocean on the south and the line from Herāt to Śikārpur and the Indus, through the Bolan Pass, on the north. It includes within it the river Hemand, which flows into the lake Hāman, the three lakes stated above (pp. 90), and the place of origin of the composers of Śrutis. A glance at the map will tell us that Seistān consisted of almost the whole of the southern portion of modern Afghanistan and almost the whole of Baluchistan[40]. It does not include in it any portion of Persia, except perhaps, a small narrow strip on the borders.

It is stated on Pp. 44 of M. S. I., on the authority of Manu, the writer of the Śruti, (vide supra f. n. no. 19), that there was a province named Saiki, which consisted of a part of Persia, and that the Śakas, the Kambojas[41], the Pahlavas[42], the Pāradas[43] and the

(37) The fact that the term "Indo" has been prefixed before Scythiā shows that the Śakas hailed from some place outside India.

(38) A delta is a piece of land surrounded by two rivers. The place where there is the confluence of these two rivers is generally triangular in shape. In the case of this delta, it was surrounded by water on the fourth side also—there was the sea there. So it may well be called an island.

(39) Both the Vedic and the Jaina books make mention of Brahmadwīp.

(40) The western portion 'of Baluchistān was called Gandriānā. The people who inhabited it were Śakas. We shall show later on that the Gūrjaras have descended from them. European scholars believe that the Gūrjaras originally came from George town or Georgiā, near the Mount Caucasus. (Should Georgiā and Gandriānā be taken to have names of the same place ?) We shall discuss this later on.

(41) We have shown that the Kambojas hailed from the north-east of Afghānistān. (Vol. I. pp. 69).

Yavanas[44] inhabited it. This means that Saiki was very near Seistān, and that the above-stated five peoples inhabited them.

In conclusion, we might state that Śāka-dwīp has no connection with the Śakas, that Śakadwīp and Śakasthān are names of different places, that Śakadwīp was a later colony of the Śakas whose place of origin was Śakasthān, where were born all the writers of Śrutis including Manu.

In spite of this, we will find that many scholars have indiscriminately called all foreign invaders Śakas, no matter whether they were Pārthians or Yonas, Pahlavas or Kuśānas, Kṣharāṭas or others. On pp. 42 of I. A. Vol. 37 (1908), a European writer says:-" Indians cared very little whether the invader was a Pārthian, Śaka or Kuśan. The conqueror came from Śaka-dwipa (outside Jambūdwīp) and so he was a Śaka ".[45]

We have given geographic details about Jambūdwīp and Śakadwīp. Then are given details about the Śakas and their home.

Some more details about the foreign invaders

(More details will be given later on). We shall here deal with the problem of Āryans and non-Āryans. Of the people that originally inhabited the region around Mount Meru, one group migrated eastwards and the other, westwards, i. e. towards Europe. A small portion of the group that went eastwards, entered

(42) Read further for the Pahlavas. Their home must have been Persia.

(43) The home of the Pāradas has been called Pārthīā. So they are also called the Pārthīans. We have fixed their place of origin to have been the north-east of Persia. (Read further).

(44) The terms "Yavana" and "Yona" have been confused together. (Vide vol. I. pp. 100. The correct term to be used here is "Yona." They were natives of Bactria, and so, are also called the Bactrians).

(45) We fail to understand what the writer means, when he uses the term "Śakadwīp." On the one hand he believes that Śakadwīp was apart from Jambūdwīp; while, on the other hand he ironically remarks that the Indians did not discriminate the Pārthīans from the Śakas and the Śakas from the Kuśānas and so on. We have now, however, convincingly shown that all these invaders had their home in Jambūdwīp. The reader will then judge on whose side the truth lies. The boot is entirely on the other leg.

Mongoliā-Manchuriā[46] and settled there; the remaining major portion settled themselves in the territory around the river Oxus. Owing to increase of population, a part of those people migrated southwards; while the other part went to China and Tibeṭ. They used to tame and rear cattle and horses[47].

Those people who went southwards settled in a piece of land and called it Śeistān. We may justly call them Scythians or Śakas. By and by, civilization grew among them. They gradually took to learning, and in course of time began to dominate over, and be worshipped by, the uncivilized tribes, who lived in their neighbourhood. Later on Manu wrote his famous Smṛti and other writers of Upniṣadas also hailed from them, about B. C. 1000 or 900. Those people who settled in China and Tibeṭ, also began to be civilized and began to take active interest in learning and arts. The people of China, especially, became more civilized than other sections of the people. Those people who had settled in Tibeṭ and Khoṭān remained in an uncivilized condition. The more civilized people again wanted to expand and occupy some new territory. Consequently warfare ensued 'between them and the the uncivilized people of Tibeṭ and Khoṭān. The latter proved victorious and stayed stagnantly just where they were. The weaker ones advanced westwards and returned to their original home around the Oxus. These people are known as Yu-chi[48]; they were driven out here and there, and at last settled themselves in China-Turkey, in about 5th or 6th century B. C. The people who had

(46) This proves that there dwells the Lichchhavī clan of the Kṣatriyas, who ruled over Magadh in Bharatakhaṇḍ. (Vol. II, pp. 279-80 and f. n. concerning them). The colour of their skin is yellow, or rather golden. Very ancient Indians were also of the same colour, especially most of the Jains and their Tīrthaṁkaras.

(47) C. H. I. pp. 564:—"In all ages the name Scythians has been applied generally to the nomads inhabiting the northern regions of Europe and Asia."

(Note: They were not called Śakas. This mistake has made confusion worse confounded in Indian history. Cf. f. n. no. 45 and the paragraph above it in the matter).

(48) Read the details about the origin of the Kuśānas, and these Yu-chi people at the end of this volume.

migrated westwards had settled in the islands of Ionian in the Mediterranean, and were known as Greeks or Macedonians. Ancient Indian writers have called them yavanas because they hailed from Ioniā. They heard of the prosperity and the riches of the east, and they keenly desired to visit it, and if possible, conquer it. The ambitious young Greek emperor, Alexānder invaded India. On his way to India, he conquered Asian Turkey and Persia and exterminated the ruling dynasties there[49]. Details about this invasion have already been given (Vol. II. Part 3, Chap. VII, Pp. 211 to 221). Some of the yavanas who accompanied Alexānder, settled in the territories through which they passed either on the way to India or back to Greece. They mixed and mingled with the natives of those territories. They began to be called by different names, which were mostly based upon the names of the territories which they occupied. (1) Those who settled in the land of the Persians (Pahlavas) were called Pāradas[50], because the name of their territory was Pārad. (The modern province of Khorāsān). They were also called Pārdians or Pārthians. (2) The people who settled among the natives of the Oxus, occupied a territory called Bactriā, and became, consequently, known as Bactrians. They were also called Yonas, because that name has a sound similar to "yavanas", which they originally were. A large number of the yavanas had settled here. They established their own and independent kingdom and so they are famous in the history. All these things took place before the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C. (3) The people who settled in the province named Kamboj, and who spoke the Kharoṣṭhī language, were called the Kṣhaharāṭas.

We have now given in brief all necessary details about the foreign invaders. More details will be given in their respective accounts. We will close this chapter with a summary of the details given above.

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(49) This is the reason why we find a gap of two centuries (from B. C. 330–132) in the dynastic list of the Persian kings. (Vide Vol. II. pp. 273 and footnote *).

(50) F. n. no. 19 above and the extract given therein from M. S. I. pp. 44.

(1) Bactrians:—They had settled in Bactriā. Indians called them "Yonas". They formed a part of the army of Alexānder and had accompanied him in his invasion over India. On Alexānder's return, they did not accompany him, but settled in Bactriā. They were mistakenly called the "Yonas" because that name has a sound similar to "Yavana" which was their original name. Truly speaking, the "Yavanas" and the "Yonas" are names of different people, and their homes are also different. Bokhārā and Bulk are the two noteworthy cities of Bactriā.

(2) Pārthians:—Natives of Persia; they were Pahlavas (not Pallavas: read further for that). At the time when the yavanas invaded India, they settled in Khorāsān, which is on the north-east of Persia. Khorāsān was called "Pārad" in those times. So these people began to be called "Pārdians" or "Pārthians". That section of the Pārthians who migrated to India and settled there, got the name Indo-Pārthians[51]. The noteworthy cities of the province are Astrābād, Maśad, Herāt and others. Persia itself was on the west of Khorāsān, and its noteworthy towns are Tehrān, Ispahān and others.

The "Pallavas" and "Pahlavas" are different people. The latter, as we have shown above, hailed from Khorāsān; while the former were natives of southern India, and hence they cannot be called foreigners. Historians have often mistakenly used these words as synonyms. The Pallavas occupied the major portion of the kingdom of Cholā in south India. The rulers of Cholā were from among these people. Their principal cities were Kaḍappā, Anantpur, Kārnul, Ārcot and others.

(3) Śakas—Scythians:—Their home was Seistān or Śakasthān, which was on the south of the territory of the Pārthians. It consisted of the modern districts of Karmān, Śeistān, Persian Baluchistān, Kelāṭ estate etc. No large cities are situated in it. Some of its towns are Karmān, Guāder (port), Lāśa, Bamapury, Miri, Jalka, Taspa and others. The rest are small villages situated

(51) Cf. details about Indo-Scythiā, given below.

in mountains. That section of the people which migrated towards India and settled there, got the name Indo-Scythians[52].

(4) Kṣaharāṭas[53]:—Their home was the territory lying between the Indus and the Hindukuś. It was on the south of Bactriā, on the east of Pārthiā and on the north of Seistān. It consisted of the modern provinces of Kāfristān, Chitrāl and of the valley of Kābul. It was a part of that territory which was originally called Gamboj or Kamboj. Both Kamboj and Gāndhār (i. e. the modern Punjab) were ruled by an Indian king[54]. Its principal towns are Kābul, Peśāvar, Jalālābād, Gizani and others.

(5) Kuśān:—All details about these peoples will be given in Vol. III. They formed a part of the people known as Yu-chi. (Vide pp. 96, with its f. n. no. 48).

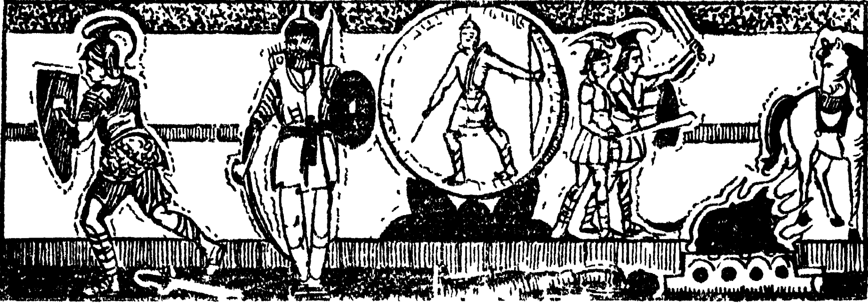
Hailing from different places, these people, in course of time, came into close contact with one another, with the result that an intimate sort of exchange in their civilization took place, ultimately evolving common civilization.

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(52) Cf. f. n. no. 51 above.

(53) Pāṇini, the famous grammarian, was a native of this place. His mother-tongue was Kharoṣṭhī. (Vol. II, pp. 89). He and his two companions, Vararūchī and Chāṇakya were brought to the university of Takṣilā by Nanda IX. (Vide Vol. I. pp. 335).

(54) For details vide Vol. I. pp. 68 to 71.



Chapter II

Foreign Invasions (Contd.)

Synopsis:—(*A*) *Yona—Bactrians—the origin of the ruling dynasty—their efforts at establishing power in India.*

(*1*) *Demetrius—he became related with the yavana chief and consolidated the Bactrian power—having heard of the defeats of the yonas by Puṣyamitra and Vasumitra, he started towards India—during his absence from Bactriā, the throne was seized by others—his consequent establishment of power and kingdom in India—the faithful generals who accompanied him—his fights with the Śunga emperor and the seizure of the Aśvamedha horse by him—Sumitra's death and its consequences.*

(*2*) *Menander—His birth, the duration of his life, and the period of his rule—the expansion of the territorial extent effected by him—some traits of his character—civilization and prosperity of those times—the successors of Menander; the account as given by scholars; the points where I differ from them—*

One of the maxims of military tactics—foreign titles and details about them—Coins and rock-incriptions by these foreigners.

(A) YONAS–BACTRIANS

The Yonas–Bactrians

The Greeks, being the inhabitants of the Ionian islands were called "Yavanas"[1]. Some of the yavana generals who had accompanied Alexānder in his invasion over India, preferred to settle in the territories lying on the way from India to Greece, when Alexānder went home. They mixed and mingled with the natives and were called yonas[2]. Blood–relationships with natives were not, of course, common throughout the settlement; yet in order to differentiate these settlers from the yavanas proper, the term "Yonas" seems to have come into vogue.[3] Scholars have confused these two terms and have often used one term when they meant the other.

Though we are mainly concerned with yona activities in India, yet some details about their activities outside India should be given for a clear understanding of the former.

The Greek empire fell to pieces after the death of Alexānder.

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(1) H. H. pp. 505:—"Greeks were Āryan colonists of Mediterranean islands called the Ionians."

Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar, "Aśok," pp. 30:—"It is in Ionia that the commercial development of the Greeks is the earliest. There can be no doubt that, it was on account of the enterprizing spirit displayed by the Ionians that the Persians coined the word yavana as a general name for all the Greeks."

J. A. H. R. S. vol. II. pp. 5:—"Yavana does not always mean Greek in Sanskrit Literature."

Asiatic Researches, vol. V; pp. 266:—"The Greeks are generally known as yavanas."

H. H. pp. 505:—"The word Javana (applied to Turks or Mahomedans) is often wrongly confounded by scholars with yavana (the Greeks)."

(It is believed that the Persians and the Yavanas were tied by a blood–relationship. Read further about "Persians").

(2) The ruling dynasty of Bactriā may be taken as an example of this. Cf. extract from J. A. H. R. S. above.

(3) The rock–inscriptions of Priyadarśin contain names of the Yona kings. Vol. II. pp. 271–74 and f. n. there.

One general, named Seleucus Necator, occupied the throne of Syriā. He died in B. C. 281, and was succeeded by his son, Antiochos I—Soter (vide the sub-joined dynastic list). He died in B. C. 261, and his son, Antiochos II—Theos, succeeded him. At this time, the territory lying between Syriā and Afghanistan was under the rules of Priyadarśin (Vol. II, Pp. 273-4 f. n. no. 93). His inscriptions tell us that Priyadarśin had cultivated very friendly relations with the yavana chiefs as well as with other neighbouring kings. European scholars[4] maintain that Antiochos II—Theos was a licentious king and people had risen into rebellion against him. As a result of this, they say, Persia and Bactriā became independent[5]. There is not much to substantiate this contention. In the first place, it has been nowhere proved that Persia was ever under the power of either Antiochos or any of his predecessors. On the other hand, Priyadarśin's hold over his distant possessions was growing slacker and slacker owing to his old age and his preoccupation with religious devotion. Again, we have discussed the policy of Subhāgsen, his heir-apparent, and the then governor of Afghanistan and the territories beyond that. So these people asserted their indepen dence, and severed all connections with the Mauryas. Deodotus I became the king of Bactriā (see the appended dynastic list). After a rule of five years he died in about 245 B. C., and was succeeded by his son Deodotus II. He ruled from B. C. 245 to B. C. 230. Then he was killed by a certain Euthidemos who then came to the throne. He ruled from B. C. 230 to about B. C. 202. During this time, in Syria Antiochos II was succeeded by two or three kings. Then, in B. C. 223,

Their activities outside India

(4) C. H. I. pp. 429:—"The revolt of Pārthiā took place about simultaneously with the revolt of Bactriā, although a year or two later."

(5) It is true that these two provinces had become independent in about B. C. 250; but they had not proclaimed their independence against the yavana kings.

(6) Bh. P. R. vol. II. pp. 281; C. H. I. pp. 441:—"Demetrius, the handsome youth, son of Euthidemos, went as a fully accredited envoy to the camp of Antiochos III—who gave him one of his daughters in marriage.

Antiochos III came to the throne. At that time Pārthiā was under his power—he may have conquered it or he may have inherited it from his predecessors. Antiochos III was a powerful king; and so was the Bactrian king Euthidemos. Antiochos however, being the king of a territory from which the Bactrians migrated, was called the Great King, while Euthidemos was called 'King". Antiochos sent word to Euthidemos that the latter must rule Bactriā not as an independent king but as his vassal. Euthidemos replied that the rebel king, who proclaimed Bactriā independent was Deodotus, whom he had killed, and that he was himself a friend of the "Great King". Antiochos, pleased with the answer, invited an ambassador of Bactriā to his court. Euthidemos sent his son Demetrius as an ambassador. Demetrius was very handsome[6] and in the prime of his youth. So Antiochos gave his daughter in marriage to him and thus began a blood-relationship between the two kingdoms, in about B. C. 215[7]. Then Euthidemos invaded India. He conquered some portions of the Punjab and Kāśmīr, and with the spoils of war returned home. Some of his soldiers, however, settled in India.. The author of Rājataraṅgiṇi has stated that the king of Kāśmīr, Jāloak by name, had conquered all territory upto Kānyakubja[8], and had driven away all the Mlechchhas during the 26th year of his reign, i. e. in about 209 B. C. The Mlechchhas in case were none other than these yonas and yavanas. About 205 B. C., or a year before or after that, both Jāloak add Euthidemos died. The former was succeeded by Dāmodar and the latter by Demetrius. Dāmodar was not as brave as his father; while Demetrius, now in his thirties, was valorous. He invaded India and conquered almost the whole of the Punjab. He advanced further, but in the meanwhile, Agnimitra, the commander-in-chief of the Mauryas, killed Bṛhadrath, the last Maurya king, and seized the throne of Avantī. (about B. C. 204).

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(7) If we take the age of Demetrius to have been 17 to 20 at this time, it comes out that he was born about B. C. 235 to 230.

(8) Vol. II. pp. 362.

DEMETRIUS

(B. C. 205 to 182=23 years)

Demetrius

For several years after his accession to the throne, Demetrius did not stir out of Bactriā. Then as we know, he invaded India, conquered almost the whole of the Punjab and tried to advance further. Some historians say that after the conquest of the Punjab, he himself had returned to Bactriā, and that further advance was made by his generals who numbered seven. Agnimitra, the Śunga emperor, sent his son Vasumitra and his father Puṣyamitra to check their progress. A terrible battle took place and the yavanas were utterly defeated[9]. The survivors repaired to Bactriā with doleful tales of war. Demetrius, enraged at hearing these tales of defeat and misery, invaded India himself. he conquered the whole of the Punjab and made Śiālkot, his head-quarters. He established his kingdom there and called it Euthidemia in honour of his father's name. It is called "Sākal" or "Sāgal" in Indian history[10]. He decided to spend the remainder of his life in India., and so his subsequent account forms a part of the Indian history[11]. Some historians say that it was his father who established the kingdom of Sākal. This seems to be improbable[12].

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(9) Of the two terrible wars that took place between the Indians and the yavanas, this was the first. For details vide the account of Agnimitra.

(10) C. H. I. pp. 446:—"He fixed his capital at Sagala or Sangala which be called Euthidemia in honour of his father." (F. n. no. 12 below).

(11) H. H. pp. 630:—"Demetrius was called "King of Indians."

(12) C. H. I. pp. 446:—"Dr. George Macdonald points out that the statement that Demetrius fixed his capital at Sagala which he called Euthidemia in honour of his father, is open to challenge."

(I. H. Quart. Vol. V, Sept. pp. 404).

(The author's note:—This means that the kingdom of Sagala was founded by Euthidemos and not by Demetrius. But then, had it been so, Euthidemos must also have been called the "King of Indians." Well, he is not called so in any history book. Even Greek history has nothing to tell us in favour of this. See f. nos. 10 and 11; and also the paragraph which follows.)

His father had certainly conquered the Punjab, but had never settled himself there.

That Demetrius, and not his father, established a kingdom in India, is supported by an event recorded in the Greek history. It is stated therein, that while Demetrius was in India, a general named Eucratides took the advantage of the opportunity, and seized the throne of Bactriā[13]. This news reached Demetrius after some time and he, uncertain of his being able to regain the Bactrian territory, decided to stick to his possessions in India, thinking that a bird in hand was worth two in the bush[14]. He ruled over his Indian kingdom for eight years, B. C. 190 to 182, and spent all these years in consolidating his power. During this time he had two generals with him–namely–Heliocles and Menander, The former was the son of Eucratides[15] and the latter was a distant relation[16].

Having established himself in Sākal;–this territory was called Madra[17] in the times of Mahābhārat and Mādri, the queen of king Pāṇḍu was a princess of this territory—, he devised a plan to lure Vasumitra, the heir-apparent of Agnimitra. A beautiful damsel was designedly made to be seen by him, and Vasumitra fascinated by her beauty wanted to marry her. Demetrius refused sanction to this marriage and thus the war began. Details about this war have been given in the account of Agnimitra. Demetrius won the war, and the territory of the Sutlej came under his

(13) C. H. I. pp. 554; I. A. vol. 37, pp. 56.

(14) There is a similar proverb in Sanskṛt:—

"Yo dhruvāṇi parityajya, adhruvaṁ parisevate,
Dhurvāṇi tasya naśyanti, adhruvaṁ naṣṭameva cha."

(15) The name of the father of Eucratides was Heliocles. His son's name was also Heliocles. When Heliocles, the son, returned from India, he murdered his father and seized the throne. The Bactrian dynasty ended with him; or he may have been succeeded by some nominal kings. Bh. Pr. R. vol. 2, pp. 190.

(16) E. H. I. edi. III, pp. 199:—"Menander, a relative of the Bactrian monarch Eucratides."

(17) C. H. I. pp. 549:—"Sākala was a city of the Madras (Upaniṣad III, 3, 1; 7, 1)—between the rivers Chināb and Rāvī."

power[18]. Two years after this, Agnimitra began the performance of the second Aśvamedha sacrifice and the course of the sacrificial horse was entrusted to Vasumitra. On the banks of the Indus,[19] the horse was captured by Demetrius. A war followed in which Vasumitra was killed (B. C. 182). Agnimitra then himself led the army and marched against Demetrius. In the battle that took place Demetrius was killed (B. C. 181). Agnimitra completed the sacrifice. Demetrius had no son, and was succeeded by his general Menaṇder[20]. Heliocles went back to Bactriā and seized the throne there. (f. n. no. 15). At the time of his death, Demetrius was about 48 to 50 years old.

MENANDER

(B. C. 182 to 156=26 years)

Menander

According to the author of C. H. I.[21], he was born in the village of Kalāsi, in Alāsandādwīp, a region between the rivers Panjaśir and Kābul, in Afghanistan. We do not know the exact date of his birth. We know however that he was a relative of Eucratides, the general who usurped the throne of Bactriā. So Eucratides and his father Heliocles and some of their relatives must have sometimes stayed in the province referred to above. During their stay there, Menaṇder first saw the light of the day. Eucratides came into prominence during the reign of Euthidemos, and at last seized the throne of Bactriā during his son's–Demetrius'–absence. Heliocles and his relatives must have stayed in this Kābul region for some time. No yona or yavana general before him, had done so, i. e. had ever settled in this region. It was given

(18) In celebration of this victory, the generals of Demetrius got coins minted bearing the portrait–head of their king. (Vide C. H. I. pp. 547).

(19) Some scholars believe that the Indus, referred to here, was not Indus but a tributary of the Chambal; its name was the Black Indus. This seems to me to be improbable. (Pp. 51 above and f. n. no. 44).

(20) It seems that Menander was a relative of Eucratides. E. H. I. 3rd edi.; pp. 199, f. n. no. 16.

(21) C. H. I. pp. 550.

as a dowry to his daughter by Seleucus Necator. This daughter was married with Aśok. Priyadarśin, and after him Subhāgsen, inherited the territory and ruled over it. During Subhāgsen's reign, which lasted from B. C. 236 to 227, Euthidemos must have invaded it and conquered it[22]. We know that Euthidemos reigned from B. C. 230 to 205, and that he first marched towards India after B. C. 215. So it transpires that no yona people ever occupied it before this time. So Menanḍer must have been born about 215 B. C. He came to the throne in B. C. 182, i. e. he was nearly thirty three years old at that time. We shall later on prove that his reign lasted for 25 years. So he died at the age of 59, in B. C. 156.

Some historians have called him Meranḍer, instead of Menanḍer, In a Buddhist book named "Milinḍapaṇho", he has been called "Miiindā". In India he was called "Milinḍā".

Menanḍer's rule lasted from B. C. 182 to 156=26 years[23]. It has been stated in the account of Demetrius that Vasumitra, under the guidance of Puṣyamitra, had been sent to drive away the yavanas. The latter were utterly defeated in the battle that took place on the border of the territory of Madra[24]. Some of the soldiers who survived the battle, returned to Bactriā and poured the doleful tales of defeat in the ears of the Bactrian king. Then Patañjali got a sacrifice performed during the lifetime of Puṣyamitra, who died after a short time in B. C. 188. After that Demetrius, accompanied by Heliocles and Menanḍer, invaded India. Now the reader will understand that the theory held by some scholars that

His valorous deeds

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(22) European scholars, in contradiction to Strabo, state that the contention, that Subhāgsen was defeated by Antiochos I or II, is incorrect. The reader will understand this now. Antiochos II was dead long before Subhāgsen came to the throne. (Many contentions of Strabo have been found to be untrue. This is only one of them).

(23) C. H. I. pp. 123:—"B. C. 160 to 140"=20 years.

(24) The territory lying between the Chenāb and the Jhelam. This territory was on the borderland of the kingdoms of both Demetrius and Agnimitra. The yavana damsel was seen by Vasumitra, in this territory.

Menander and Puṣyamitra were contemporaries, is rather incorrect. We may grant that, before Pusyamitra died in B. C. 188 at the age of 80, Menander was certainly born; but they were never contemporaries in the sense, that their political careers were simultaneous, because Menander entered into the arena of politics after B. C. 188, the year in which Puṣyamitra died. Even Demetrius had nothing to do politically with Puṣyamitra, because he also entered India for the first time in B. C. 188. We may thus attribute the victory of Vasumitra and Puṣyamitra in their battle against the yavanas, not merely to their bravery and skilled generalship, but to the absence in the yavana army of warriors and organizers like Demetrius and Menander. This contention is lent support by the fact that Demetrius invaded India, conquered the whole of the Punjab and founded his kingdom of Sākal,[25] which was on the borders of Madra. He had also advanced further and conquered all the territory upto the banks of the Sutlej. He defeated Vasumitra in the battle that followed; but we can say that Vasumitra's victory in the first battle was due to the expert guidance of Puṣyamitra, who was not present during the second battle. This gives us an index to Puṣyamitra's capacity as a general. Of these two battles[26] between the Indians and the yavanas, the first was a battle of greater magnitude than the second. Two other battles[27] also took place after them, and of

(25) Modern Śiālkoṭ; Demetrius founded his kingdom there. Some scholars are of the opinion that his father Euthidemos founded the kingdom there.

Ind. His. Quart. V; pp. 404:—"Even if Menander is ignored, and Demetrius, son of Euthidemos is recognised as the invader of Sāket and Madhyamikā."

(The author's note:—Madhyamikā was invaded by Menander. Read further for that. The term to be used here is not "Sāket," but "Sākal.")

(26) First war—Vasumitra and Puṣyamitra versus yavana generals.

Second war—Vasumitra versus Demetrius and Menander,

(27) First war—Agnimitra versus Demetrius and Menander. Demetrius died in this war.

Second war:—Bhānumitra versus Menander. Menander died while the war was going on. Probably he died of an illness, and not while fighting.

Of the four wars referred to above, the Purāṇās contain the mention of two only, which were of greater importance. Vide "Buddhīprakāś," vol. 76 and further.

them also the second was of less importance than the first. And in these battles Agnimitra[28] scored a victory against skilled generals like Demetrius and Menander—a tribute to the army organization of those times and to the fighting spirit of the Āryan soldiers of those times. In the second battle, Menander died under accidental circumstances[29]. Had he been alive, he would certainly have turned the tables against the Āryans.

When Menander assumed the reigns of the government after the death of Demetrius, the territory that was under his power consisted of Afghanistan, the Punjab and the region upto the banks of the Sutlej[30]. Seven years after Menander's accession to the throne, Agnimitra died. The yavanas had made no attempts to advance further upto that time[31]. Immediately after Agnimitra died in B. C. 174, Menander marched forward and conquered the territory upto the south of the Sutlej, i. e. modern Rajputānā and the whole of the region on the west of the Arvalli hills. He also conquered Sind[32] and appointed a general named Bhūmak

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(28) The Vedic books describe Agnimitra as a sovereign emperor. They do so, because of his conquest in this battle, after which he completed the second Aśvamedha sacrifice. (Vide his account).

(29) Vide the account of the Śunga kings Balamitra and Bhānumitra, and f. n. no. 37 below.

(30) Agnimitra killed Demetrius in the battle that took place here.

(31) Buddhi. Pra. vol. 76, pp. 95:—"In Milinda Panho, the Buddhist book, Śākal has been stated to have been the capital of Menander's kingdom. C. H. I. pp. 549." Modern historians refer to only invasion of the Greeks who came from Balkha, and state that Menander was their leader. They also state that he conquered Pānchāl and Sūrasen, and then he laid siege around Sāket—Ayodhyā—and conquered it. (Cf. f. n. no. 34 below).

(32) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 199:—"He had annexed to his kingdom the Indus Delta and the peninsula of Saurāṣṭra.

Sir Cunningham, on the other hand, stated in Bhilsā Topes, pp. 127:—"I have shown from the monogramic names of the cities, in which his coins were minted that Menander's rule extended over the whole of Kābul valley, the Punjab and Sindh, including the capital city of Minanagar on the lower Indus."

(Note: This extract contains no mention of Saurāṣṭra or of the region around Broach).

as its governor[33]. Then he marched upon the provinces of Pāñchāl and Sūrsen[34] in the north, conquered them, and appointed another general named Rājuvul[35] as a governor over them. Thus he had conquered[36] all the important provinces of northern India—The Punjab[37], Sind, Rājputānā, Sūrasen and the major part of the United provinces. He seems to have stopped there. Scholars have tried to prove on the authority of Hāthīguṁfā inscription that he, or his predecessor Demetrius had made preparations to invade Pāṭaliputra[38]. Having heard, however, of the occupation of Magadh by emperor Khārvel and of his conquest over Bṛhaspatimitra, the king of Magadh, the yavana king decided to stop at Mathurā and did not advance any further. My objections against this theory and the true interpretation of the Hāthīguṁfā inscriptions are stated in the account of Khārvel in vol. IV. It is sufficient to note here that the inscription has been misconstrued by the scholars in question. Some other scholars hold the opinion that Menaṇder had conquered the western portion of Gujarāt—the

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(33) For details about Bhūmak, vide the account of the Kṣaharāṭas given further.

(34) Demetrius may have conquered these provinces at first. But then he must have lost them.

(35) Vide further on the account of Rājuvul.

(36) Buddhi. Pra. vol. 76, pp. 95:—"The names of the two of the six companions of Menander in the last battle, have been found. One was Demetrius II and the second was Antiochos.

Miliṇḍa Paṇho also contains these two names as those of the two Greek chiefs who attended the court of Menander. (C. H. I. pp. 550).

(Note: This shows that Menander was a powerful king).

(37) Bhūmak was appointed as governor over Sind, Rājaputānā and Saurāṣṭra. Rājuvul was appointed over the United Provinces. Antitialtidas, a yona general, was appointed as governor of the Punjab. (Vide the accounts of Śunga kings, Balamitra and Bhānumitra above).

(38) C. S. H. pp. 65:—"Menander was probably the yavana who invaded Magadh as recorded by Patanjali."

E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 199.

Broach district[39]. This also seems to be improbable[40]. On the whole, Menander's empire was larger than that of his predecessor and thus he may be called the more powerful of the two[41].

More details about him

In a book like this, we are not directly concerned with western civilization. Yet, so far as its influence through Menander on Indian culture is concerned, we might allow it some space here. Mr. Vincent Smith, in his "Early History of India, 3rd edi. states on pp. 199 with reference to Menander's invasions over India, "Thus ended the second and last[42] attempt by a European general to conquer India by land . . . . From the repulse of Menander, until the bombardment of Cālicut by Vāsco da Gāmā in A. D. 1502, India enjoyed immunity from attack under European leadership[43] and so long as the power in occupation of the country retains command of the sea[44], no attack made from the landside in the footsteps of the ancient invaders can have any prospect of permanent success." Modern European powers maintain their authority by their command over the sea[45].

Hitherto we have been following the custom of devoting a separate chapter to the territorial extent and to religious details about a dynasty, the account of which was over in the preceding chapter. We do not propose to do so in the case of the yonas, because only two kings are directly connected with India and

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(39) Bh. Pr. Rājvaṁśa, vol. II. pp. 142:—"Periplus is of the opinion that the coins of Menander have been unearthed from the region around Broach. Cf. the extract from Sir Cunningham's book, in f. n. no. 32 above.

(40) Vide the account of Bhūmak, the Kṣaharāṭa kṣatrap.

(41) Cf. f. n. no. 36 above.

(42) Menander's invasion is referred to as second. It seems that Alexander's invasion is to be taken as the first.

(43) Menander was not of an European origin. He was a Bactrian and hence a native of Asia. The terms "yavana" and "yona" however have been confused pretty often, and so Mr. Smith has called him a European.

(44) The British people at present have got supremacy over the seas, and they are proud of it.

(45) The whole of the southern India is a peninsula. Naturally one who commands the coast is the master.

their territorial extents have been incidentally discussed in their accounts—, and because little is known about the faith they followed. There are no rock-inscriptions—at least not found—to their credit, and what coins we have, shed little light on the religion that they followed. Some religious books tell us a little about Menander's religious inclinations, but we cannot take them as authoritative[46].

His culture

On pp. 549 of C. H. I. it is stated:—"Menander is the only yavana who has become celebrated in the ancient literature of India. He is unquestionably to be identified with Milinda, the yavana king of Sākal, who, (Milinda-Panha) in the dialogue between the king, had become notorious as harassing the brethren and the Buddhist elder Nāgasen. It is thus as a philosopher and not as a mighty conqueror that Menander has won for himself an abiding fame. (Trans. Rhys Davids, S. B. E. XXXV, pp. 6-7). As a disputant he was hard to equal; harder still to overcome. He was the acknowledged superior to all the founders of the various schools of thought. As in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness and valour, there was found none equal to Milinda in all India. He was rich too, mighty in wealth and prosperity and the number of his armed hosts knew no end." This extract gives us a fair idea of Menander, both as a powerful king and as a man of parts. Yet the extract is based upon evidence gleaned from the literature of those times, and hence its truth remains to be asserted by some reliable historical piece of evidence.

A foreigner invades India with various intentions. Conquest of territory is only one of the motives. Some reference to the possible motives of a foreign invasion has already been made on pp. 399 of Vol. II. We have also dealt at length with the motives which actuated Alexānder the Great to invade India, in Vol. II, pp. 211 to 221. It needs be mentioned here, however, that the eastern and the western scholars

Civilization and Prosperity

(46) In the appendix on "Mathurā," some details will be given about the religion of Menander.

No authoritative pieces of evidence are available to establish definitely something about his religion.

differ widely from one another, in their opinions about the intentions and the consequences of Alexānder's invasion[47]. There is little to wonder about it. The greatest and deepest scholar is, after all, a human being; and being such he is temperamentally inclined to set his own civilization at a higher value than that of any other country. But then, a temperamental bias does not always -rather seldom-represent truth. The following extract from C. H. I. pp. 541 will illustrate this:—"The Indian expedition of Alexānder the Great, has for more than twenty-two centuries been celebrated in the western world as one of the most amazing feats of arms in the whole of history. No personage of ancient world is better known[48]; but of this great conqueror, the records of India have preserved, no certain trace[49]." The extract clearly shows that the western and the eastern writers took the invasion from different points of view. The former called it a unique feat of arms and stopped at that. The latter looked at from the view point of civilization and culture, and noted that it was the invader rather than the invaded, who had to learn many things from the vanquished. Victorious Rome sat at the feet of the subdued Greek and drunk deep of the Pierian spring. So did Alexānder and his armed hosts. Another instance illustrating the truth of the contention that the Greek civilization was vastly inferior to the Āryan, is that of the yavana coins. It is stated on pp. 447 of C. H. I.:—"Demetrius does not seem to have struck any gold. It will be observed that he is the first of the Bactrian kings to be represented with his shoulders draped; and from his time onwards that feature is virtually universal." The yavanas kept their shoulders bare; but when they came into contact with Indians[50], they learnt that to do so was a sign of want of culture. So they adopted the custom

(47) Some extracts quoted above will illustrate this.

(48) This is from the western point of view. Read f. n. no. 49 below.

(49) This wide divergence between the eastern and the western opinions illustrate their different points of view.

(50) This yona chief settled in India and naturally imbibed most of the Āryan culture and civilization, and because he settled in India he had an opportunity to observe and grasp things.

of covering the upper parts of their bodies[51]. The custom came to be universally adopted among their succeeding generations.

Here, as well as elsewhere, we have had occasions to deal with the question of the superiority of one of the civilizations over the other. The reader may come to his own conclusions after examining the pros and cons of the data presented to him. We may also note that the Greek coins, excepting their artistic beauty, do not have anything proving them superior to Indian ones.

Foreigners mostly invaded India because they were attracted by her prosperous condition. It often happened, however, that once a foreigner set his footsteps upon the Indian soil, he felt himself inclined to settle in this land of civilization, culture and prosperity. All the foreign invaders acted in the same manner[52].

We know that Priyadarśin deputed religious missionaries to distant countries like Afghanistan, Egypt and China. Contact among people increased in course of time. All kinds of foreign traders visited India and vice versa. But foreigners had always a a double-fold purpose in visiting India : to have trade-relations; and, more important still, to drink at the fountain-head of civilization and culture. During the rule of Priyadarśin and the next fifty years, foreigners of all kinds came into close contact with India and learnt many things from her. On pp. 435 of C. H. I. it is stated:—" It (the witness of coins) proves that there was busy life, throbbing on both sides of the Indian frontier, during the forty or fifty years about which history is silent. Merchants were constantly coming and going, buying and selling ...the same time witnessed the birth of the new kingdom of Bactriā...Bactriā was the rich country between the Hindukuś and the Oxus." It should be noted here that the period of forty or fifty years, which has been described as silent here, is due to the mistake, which all historians have committed, of identifying Sandrecottus with Chandragupta, and Priyadarśin with Aśokavardhan.

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(51) Keeping the most part of the body bare is a sign of barbarism. It was considered so and it is so. We can well contrast this with Āryan civilization.

(52) The whole of the part VI is rich in all these details.

I have stated above that Menander died in B. C. 156. Further research in the subject has led me to conclude that he died in B. C. 159. The reasons for making this change are as follow:—(1) Bhūmak's career may be divided into two parts : as a Kṣatrap and as a Mahā-kṣatrap. It has been proved that he started the Kṣaharāṭa era in B. C. 158[53]. It is, on the other hand, equally clear that Bhūmak asserted his independence only after the death of Menander. Nothing has been found to contradict the truth of this. Bhūmak dared not have lifted his head against a powerful ruler like Menander. This automatically proves that he died at least before B. C. 158; i. e. in B. C. 158-159. (2) It has been found—on the authority of rock-inscriptions that the yona governor of the Punjab-Antitialtidas by name-had deputed an ambassador-Heliodorus by name-to the court of Bhānumitra, the Śunga king. This ambassador had declared that the governor of Punjab professed friendship with the Śunga king. The tone of the whole thing was rather conciliatory and showed that Antitialtidas was anxious to have peaceful relations, with the Śunga king, even at the sacrifice of a little of his self-respect. Bhānumitra's rule, as we have already shown, lasted from B. C. 158 to 142, and this thing is stated to have taken place at the beginning of his rule. Now, had Menander been alive upto B. C. 156, he would never have allowed his governor to cater to the friendship of the Śunga king. Bhūmak, on the other hand, was ruling over a territory, the eastern frontiers of which collided with the western ones of the Śunga king's territory. Moreover, it was Bhūmak who had killed Odrak or Balamitra, the predecessor and elder brother of Bhānumitra, and had brought a part of his territory under his subjugation. He also would never have allowed such a humiliating thing to take place. So we come to the conclusion that the representative was sent after Menander's death in B. C. 158-159. Even Menander's brave generals like Hagām and Hagāmās[54] were dead before Menander; otherwise Menander

Menander's death

(53) This has been proved in his account given later on.

(54) Details about Hagām and Hagāmās will be given in chapter III.

himself would have had no occasion to go to the field of battle himself and be killed in it. (3) It is better to take the year B. C. 159, as the time when Bhānumitra came to the throne. This agrees with the period fixed for the ministerial regime of the Kaṇvas namely 45 years. Then we can state that both the Kaṇva ministry and the Śunga dynasty ended in B. C. 114, i. e. after 45 years. This leads us all the more to conclude that Menander died in B. C. 159. We have now only to decide which event took place first: Menander's death or Bhānumitra's accession to the throne. Yet the very fact that Antitialtidas eagerly sought to establish friendly relations with Bhānumitra, shows that the latter was a powerful king, and, in all probability, killed Menander in the battle. The latter's death may partly be credited to the skill of the Kaṇva minister also.

All these circumstances lead us to fix the date of Menander's death to have been B. C. 159; this means that Menander's rule lasted from B. C. 182 to 159=23 years.

After Menander

Of all the kings of the Bactrian dynasty that ruled over Bactriā, we are concerned here with only two: namely, Demetrius and Menander. We have refrained from giving any details of the predecessors of Demetrius; and so we cannot, due to the same reason, devote any space to the account of Menander's successors. The fact is that no yona general after Menander stayed in India to take charge of his possessions. Names of, however, several yona chiefs have been found and in some cases their[55] coins also, which have led scholars to believe that some of them enjoyed power in India. My researches have made me conclude that Menander was the last yona chief that ruled in India, and that the chiefs and generals referred to above, were only contemporaries of Demetrius and Menander, and were appointed by them as governors over various provinces conquered by them. Some of the names are given below:—

C. H. I. pp. 543:—"Apollodotus and Menander, as well as

(55) For details, see the paragraph "Titles" below.

Demetrius, belonged to the house of Euthidemos, all these princes were contemporaries."

Ibid. pp. 546:—"The princes of the house of Euthidemos, who reigned both in Bactriā and in kingdoms south of the Hindukuś, are Demetrius, Pantaleon, Agathocles and probably also Antimachus."

Other names which are mentioned in other sources are:—Pheloxemis, Nicias and Hippostratus. Two other names are well-known in history:—Hagām[56] or Hagān[57] and Hagāmas[56] or Hagāmāṣ[57]. The latter general ruled over the territory around Mathurā. We have not yet been able to fix his time. Probably both the generals were contemporaries of Menanḍer. Any how, they were not independent rulers. They were governors appointed by Menanḍer.

Now that we have finished, formally, the account of the yonas; we may, as well add a few remarks about their titles[58]. More details about them will be given later on.

Something about foreign titles

(1) The yonas originally descended from the Greeks. So the ruler of Bactriā was called "King;" while the Greek ruler was called "The Great King[59]." We are not concerned here with the Greek rulers, nor with the Bactrian kings, so long as they had nothing to do with India. When, however, the yonas settled themselves in India, their king introduced the system of appointing governors over various provinces under his power. The Bactrian rulers could have well assumed the title "The Great King" themselves and bestowed the title "King" upon their governors. But they were satisfied with their simple title—"The King"[60]—, and so, they

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(56) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 227; C. H. I. pp. 526-27.

(57) C. A. I. (Cunningham) pp. 86.

(58) The details stated in paragraphs "Titles" and "Other peculiarities" are results of deductions from a connected and deep study of history. Further research has to prove them to be true or otherwise.

(59) Alexānder was called "The Great" for this reason. "Great King" was a Greek title.

(60) Demetrius, Menanḍer and others called themselves simply "King."

do not seem to have bestowed any title upon their governors[61]. These governors, were, however, empowered to get coins minted in their own names.

One trait of these foreigners, that deserves notice here, is their predominant sense of individuality. Whenever any foreign chief got coins minted, his portrait-head invariably appeared on them[62]. Indian rulers, on the other hand, as we have already seen, gave more importance to their religion or to their family sign[63]. There are several other points to be elucidated about these coins of the yonas. Were there common coins for all the provinces under the power of a yona king? Or did the different governors get different coins minted, which had currency in those provinces only? Did these governors get their own portrait-head on the one side, and the portrait-head of their king on the other? All these points require deep study. I have yet to come to conclusions about them.

In some cases we find that the governors had assumed certain titles. This seems to have been done by them, either without the permission of the king or in defiance of his orders. (Read further).

(2) Palhavas and Pārthians:—Persia was the home of these people. Persian emperors called themselves "King of Kings"[64]. We

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(61) The governors of other peoples were called "Satrapas;" hence if we come across a name without any title, we may take him to have been a yona governor.

The yona governors later on seem to have assumed titles, probably on account of the following reasons. (1) They might have imitated governors appointed by the kings of other peoples. (2) The king might have bestowed upon them these titles, in order to distinguish them from governors of other peoples.

(62) Cf. vol. II. pp. 44.

(63) Cf. vol. II. pp. 45 and seq. and 54 and seq.

(64) The Greek emperor was called "Great King," while the Persian emperor was called "King of Kings." C. H. I. pp. 567:—"King of Kings is a distinctly Persian title."

A king named Moses ruled in India. (Vide the account of the Pārthians.) First he called himself "King"; later on, however, he began to call himself "King of Kings." (Vide his account for details).

have to understand that some scions of the royal family ruled over several smaller parts of the country and were called "Kings." Their status was the same as that of the Bhāyātas—feudatory chiefs[65]—that we find in the native states of India to-day. The person, who was appointed as governor of a province, but who had no blood-relationship with the ruling family, was called a "Satrap". Other foreigners coined the word "Kṣatrap[66]" from the word "Satrap"; but there is one important difference between the two terms. A "Kṣatrap" could get promotion—as reward for some distinctive role played by him for his king—and could become a "Mahākṣatrap" in course of time; while "Satrap" had no such future prospects. The Pārthians descended from the Palhavas; and so their generals and governors called themselves "Kings." Those of them, who settled in India were called "Indo-Pārthians," and had got their own coins minted, just as the yonas had done.

(3) The Kṣaharāṭas and the Śakas (Scythians) were natives of a place nearer to India, than the homes of the first two peoples. They resembled Indians in many ways. They had absorbed most parts of the Āryan civilization. Hence the Kharoṣṭhī language spoken by the Kṣaharāṭas and the Brāhmī language spoken by the Śakas are in many points similar to the Māgadhī language spoken in India. The Kṣaharāṭas and the Śakas were not ruling people from the beginning and so had no titles like "The King" or "The Great King" or "The King of Kings," when they first came to India. Hence, so long as they were under the power of other nations, their chiefs called themselves—"Kṣatraps"—a title which they borrowed of course; but the moment the domination of the other nation weakened, they proclaimed themselves as

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(65) During the time of Gardabhīl, the king of Avantī, the Jaina monk Kāliksūri, had brought the Śakas to India. The native place of these Śakas was under the power of a "King" of this type. The overlord of these "Kings" was the emperor of Persia. There is another theory also for the whole thing. Vide the account of the Śakas for that. Chap. IX.

(66) Cf. the accounts of Kṣaharāṭas, the Kuśānas and others.

More details of the term "Kṣatrap" will be given later on. (Cf. f. n. no. 61 above).

"Mahākṣatraps." This will make it clear that "Mahākṣatrap" is a title particularly attached to the Kṣaharāṭas only; while the titles "Satraps" and "Kṣatraps" are common to all these foreigners. A "Mahākṣatrap," appointed his heir-apparent as a "Kṣatrap" over a province under his power. A Kṣaharāṭ "Kṣatrap" could some day become—we may incidentally note—a "Mahākṣatrap;" but Pahlava "Kṣatrap" could not. These Kṣatraps and Mahākṣatraps used to get coins minted in their own names.

(4) Kuśān:—The Kuśāns, in many ways, resemble the Kṣaharāṭas. They had also the titles "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap" with the same connotations. They used to have their own coins. There was, however, one difference between these two peoples. The Kuśānas were a ruling people from the first, and hence their chiefs had titles like "The Great King" etc. Their feudatory chiefs and governors were called "Kṣatraps" or "Mahākṣatraps." Details about the Kuśāns will be given further on.

Other special traits

In this paragraph we propose to dwell upon two things : coins and rock-inscriptions and deeds of charity as inscribed upon metal sheets. We may repeat here that all foreigners[67], whether fully influenced by the Āryan civilization[68], or partially influenced by it[69], or quite immune from its influence[70], always got their portrait-heads printed on one side of their coins. Indians, on the

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(67) As far as this statement is concerned, the reader has to understand that we talk of modern India. In Bharatakhaṇḍ—Ancient India—Baluchistān and Afghanistan were also included. (Read details about Jambūdwīp–given above).

(68) The Kṣaharāṭas and the Scythians were this type of peoples to a certain extent. They stayed very near India and had come into close contact with Indians on account of trade and commerce.

(69) The Pahlavas—whose native place was on the west of that of the Śakas—and the Kuśānas who stayed in the north of the Śaka colony—, are examples of this type.

(70) These people lived in a territory which was farther from India than the territories of the Pahlavas and of the Kuśānas. The yavanas in the west and the yonas on the north were this kind of peoples. (The reader should bear in mind that we are here talking about the period from the 2nd to the 5th centuries B. C. We are not concerned with very early times, i. e. B. C. 4000).

other hand, were not at all particular about this. Indians were more religious-minded, and their religion and spiritual awakening led them to self-effacement. Hence their coins bear religious signs.[71] On the other side of their coins they got their family sign printed in order to differentiate their coins from those of others. Foreigners had little of religion or spiritualism in them, and hence their predominantly self-assertive tendency. They were all eager to make their names immortal or at least long lasting, by getting them printed, together with their portrait heads, on their coins.[72] This is an index to their materialistic bent of mind-which is so glaringly present in most western nations even to-day. In course of time, these foreigners came into close contact with Indian people and civilization, and imbibed some of their noble instincts. As a result of this they introduced religious signs on their coins.[73] But influences are always mutual as far as human beings are concerned. So Indian kings adopted the system of getting their portrait-heads printed on their coins.[74] These details and their coins will help us to fix up their dates[75].

Now we turn to rock-inscriptions and deeds of charity, inscribed upon copper-sheets. In these also we find the influence of their own civilizations amply reflected. The Indian kings mentioned seasons, months and dates-with days-in these incriptions and deeds of charity in copper-sheets. Foreigners simply stated the year. The nearer the foreigners were to India, the more the details they mentioned about the year, the season, the month and the day. Their number was proportionate to their distance from India.

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(71) Vol. II. chap. 3rd on coins. See the coins of the kings of the Śiśunāga, the Nanda and the Maurya dynasties.

(72) As examples of this, see the coins of the yona kings Demetrius and Menander, of Moses and of the Kuśāna king Kadaphasis.

(73) See the coins of Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ, Hūviṣka, Kaniṣka, Vāsudev and others.

(74) See the coins of Nahapāṇ.

(75) Vide the two chapters on coins in vol. II.

Some more details about Kṣatraps.

We have mentioned above various titles:—(1) King of Kings, (2) Great King, (3) Mahākṣatrap, (4) Kṣatrap. The details given above about these titles, will enable the reader, to some extent, to judge the nationality of their holders. The conclusions[76] arrived at above are results of an inductive process of reasoning and elemination. Some extracts are given below. They will enable the reader to judge for himself the truth of the above-stated conclusions.

It is stated in "The Historians' History of the World":—"In ancient history it (Satrap) is the name given by the Persians to to their provincial governors. The functions and duties of a Satarap were—(The empire of Darius included as many as 30 Satarapies)-manifold. They did not attempt to subjugate the races that peopled their dominions, but on the contrary accepted the manners, customs and religion of the people over whom they ruled. He was the head of the administration; he collected taxes, controlled the local officials, the subject tribes and cities; and was the supreme judge of the province to whose chair every civil and criminal case would be brought. He was assisted by a council to which also provincials were added and was controlled by a royal secretary and by emissaries of the king. This system, though it succeeded in Persia, was but a failure in India. The title of Mahākṣatrap occupied a position of greater power and independence than that of a Kṣatrap, but was nevertheless subservient to his overlord, who was called the "King of kings."

Mr. Vincent Smith says:—[77] " The word Satrap means a subordinate of the Persian or Pārthian sovereign. " Mr. Smith makes no mention of the title Mahākṣatrap.

Another writer[78] has made the following distinction between a Kṣatrap and a Mahākṣatrap:—" Later on these titles seem to have undergone a change. Those who were called Kṣatrapas were subordinate to Mahākṣatrapas or to some foreign kings who

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(76) Read f. n. nos. 55 and 58 above.

(77) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 227.

(78) J. O. B. R. A. S. vol. XX, pp. 281, f. n. no. 35.

conquered them. Those who styled themselves "Mahākṣatraps were independent and owed fealty to none." This makes it clear that the terms "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap" were common to all foreigners.

The points where the present writer differs from other writers.

Various writers have distinguished between the terms "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap" and have stated the relations of both with their overlord. We have shown, however, that the chiefs from among the people, who were not independent rulers at first, assumed the title "Mahākṣatrap" when they came to power; and the title "Kṣatrap" was bestowed upon their heirs-apparent. After the death of the father, or the ruler, the heir-apparent ascended the throne, and automatically assumed the title, "Mahākṣatrap". These terms—we can easily see—thus had different meanings in regard to people who were independent[79] from the first, and in regard to those who were not so[80]. We may note the differences as follows:—(1) A "Kṣatrap" of an independent people was not always sure of a "Mahākṣatrapī". His promotion depended upon a stroke of fortune, upon his being in the good books of the emperor or upon his valour on the field of battle. (2) He was not always connected by blood—relationship either with the "Mahākṣatrap" or with the emperor. (3) The number of "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap" could be more than one at the same time. In the case of peoples who were not independent from the first, we may note that:—(1) A "Kṣatrap" was sure to be a "Mahākṣatrap" in course of time. (2) The "Kṣatrap" was always the heir-apparent of the "Mahākṣatrap"—either his son or the adopted son. (3) The number of "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap" could not exceed one at a time.

After the decline of the yonas, the Kṣaharāṭas came into power. So we shall deal with them in the next chapter.

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(79) The Bactrians, the Parthians, the Palhavas, Persians and the Kuśānas were independent people.

(80) The Kṣaharāṭas, the Śakas and the Chaṣṭhaṇas were people who were not independent at first, but who became independent later on.



Chapter III

Foreign Invaders (Contd.)

Synopsis:—*The Kṣaharāṭas:—Can they be called non-Indians?—The Kharoṣṭhī language came into being as a result of the mixture of other languages with the Brāhmī language—Comparison between Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī—Opinions of scholars about the origin of Kharoṣṭhī—The relation between the Kharoṣṭhī language and the Kṣaharāṭas—The development of Kharoṣṭhī—An account of the Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatrapas—Their rule over three different territories—Details about Hagām and Hagāmāṣ—*

MADHYA DEŚ:—

(*1*) *Bhūmak:—Details about him and his relation with Kṣatrap Nahapāṇ—The dates of his rule—The starting of the Kṣaharāṭa Era by him—Important events of his life—The extent of his territory—The possible seats of his capital.*

THE KṢAHARĀṬAS[1]

Kamboj was the native place of these people. It consisted of the north-eastern portion of Afghanistan and the southern portion of the Hindukuś. We have already stated in Vol. I, Pp. 68 that the territory was under the power of the king of Gāndhār (the Punjab) upto the 6th century B. C. This shows that the territory in question formed a part of India. In ancient times also, it formed a part of Jambūdwīp. Later on, however, the territory was conquered by the Persian emperors from whom it subsequently passed unto the power of the Syrians. The frontiers of India, had, in the meanwhile receded farther and farther. On account of these reasons, the territory began to be considered as a foreign one and so the people inhabiting it.

Indian or non-Indian ?

Scholars—Indian as well as European[2]—have called these people "Śakas." As, however, they were not natives of "Śākadwīp," we cannot call them "Śakas." Neither did the people at any time live in Śeistān. Hence they cannot be called Śakas by any stretch of imagination.

Their language & script

The name of their language was Kharoṣṭhī *. We will not discuss here whether the name of the language was based upon the name of the people or vice-versa. Its script resembles the Hindi one. Brāhmī was the script written in ancient India—in Jambūdwīp, upto probably the seventh or the eighth century B. C. The writers of the Vedic books were natives of Seistān, which was very near Kamboj. Hence their script was Brāhmī. In the 6th century B. C. the Persian emperors conquered this territory. Thenceforth the

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(1) J. B. B. R. A. S. New Ser. vol. III. pp. 610:—"Kṣaharāṭ, the family name by which the Satraps at Junner are known, appears to be a Sanskṛt form of the Prākṛt word Kharoṣtra."

(2) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 209:—"The Kṣaharāṭas were connected with the Śakas and may have immigrated from Śakastene, the modern Seistān."

* Scholars believe that Kharoṣṭhī is only a script. But I think it is both a script and a tongue (for proofs, vide further).

Pahlavī language exerted a powerful influence over the Brāhmī script. This mixture of the two scripts & (perhaps to a certain extent of the languages spoken) gave rise to a new script—Kharoṣṭhī[3]. It contains perceptible traits of both the Pahlavī and the Brāhmī scripts.

Brāhmī	Kharoṣṭhī
(1) Pure script	(1) A mixture of the Brāhmī and the Pahlavī scripts.
(2) Every line begins from the left.	(2) Every line begins from the right, like that of the Pahlavī[4]-Persian language.
(3) Spoken by the highly educated people.	(3) Spoken by the illiterate masses.
(4) Sanskṛt script.	(4) Sanskṛt script mixed with other things.
(5) A sweet pronunciation.	(5) A jarring tongue[5].

Dr. Bühler, the famous linguist, says[6]:—"Kharoṣṭhra offers a strong identification to Zarathuṣtra-possessor of yellow camels (Burnouf). The Chinese translate Kharoṣṭhī by "Ass-lips"[7]=he analyses the word like this. Zarath and Zar are connected with

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Buddhiprakāś, Vol. 76, July number, pp. 11. Sir Jivanji Modi says:—"Some of the names of these Śaka kings are Persian. So Mr. Vincent Smith thinks that they are Pārthians." Mr. Bhāṇḍārkar on the other hand holds the opinion that they are Scythians.

(3) The word "Kharoṣṭha" seems to be a deteriorated form of the Persian term "Jarthosta." Cf. details given further on.

C. A. R. Introduction, pp. 104:—"The Indian home of this alphabet lay in Afghanistan and in the north Punjāb."

(4) Cf. f. n. no. 3 above. Jarthosta is the name of the Persian prophet. We get "Pahlavī" from "Pahlavas;" similarly, the term "Jarthosta" seems to have undergone changes like:—Jarthosta, Zarthosta, Kharthosta, Kharosta and Kharoṣṭha. The whole language can be traced in this manner.

(5) Cf. f. n. no. 7 below.

(6) C. A. I. Introduction, pp. 8.

(7) The language that was spoken by an ass; the voice of the ass is notoriously bass and so is the Kharoṣṭhī language when spoken, Cf. f. n. no. 5.

the Sanskṛt Savarṇa=gold; in ancient Persia, the Indian Sva was generally changed to Ha as in Sarasvatī (Sanskṛt)=Harasvatī (Persian): Kharoṣṭhī might therefore have been a variant form of the name of Zarathuṣtra"[8]. Mr. Rapson, another scholar, says[9]:— "Kharoṣṭhī is evidently a foreign alphabet; it seems to claim in the coin-legends an equally important place with Brāhmī, but it falls into gradual disuse. (J. R. A. S. 1889, pp. 372), and after the reign of Chaṣṭhaṇ it is abandoned altogether." The same scholar says elsewhere[10]:—"Kṣaharāṭ is no doubt a dialectical form of Kṣaharāṭ (in the Prākṛt of the Nāśik inscription : Kha= (Sanskṛt) kṣa; compare Khatiya=Kṣatriya, f. n. no. 3.)" In short, both the Kharoṣṭhī language and the script are closely connected with the Kṣaharāṭas and with the Persian language.

The growth of the Kharoṣṭhī tongue

We have seen that the Kharoṣṭhī language originated from the Brāhmī, in about B. C. 6th century. The territory of the Kṣaharāṭas was conquered by the Persian emperor after the death of king Pulusāki (vol. I. pp. 72). From that time onwards the people inhabiting the territory came into close contact both with Persians and with the Indians, on account of political and commercial intercourse. In this territory was also born the famous grammarian Pāṇini. His mother-tongue was this Kharoṣṭhī. The Nand king IX, a lover of learning invaded this territory, and together with a vast amount of wealth, he took away with him the learned trio of Pāṇini, Chāṇakya and Vararūchi. With their help he resurrected the University of Nālandā and brought it up to the level of Takṣilā. Pāṇini's works are replete with Kharoṣṭhī words, as that was his mother-tongue.

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(8) We need not discuss here the truth or otherwise of this statement. The reader's attention. however, may be drawn to the fact that when a famous scholar twists things in order to arrive at a certain conclusion, his efforts are applauded as scholarly; the comparatively unknown but none the less deep and acute student of history, is less fortunate. His efforts at innovation are mostly dubbed as specimens of overwisdom or condemned as falsehoods beneath the notice of all respectable people.

(9) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 104; paragraph 83.

(10) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 37.

When the Nanda dynasty ended, and the Mauryas became the emperors of Magadh, the province of Kamboj-Gamboj automatically passed under their power. During the weak rule of Bindusār, the people of the province had acquired a large measure of independence. Then Alexānder the Great conquered it. It continued to be under the power of the yavana chiefs like Seleucus Necator. When Seleucus gave his daughter in marriage to emperor Aśok, in B. C. 304, he also ceded four provinces to him, one of which was the province in question. Thus the province was sometimes under the hegemony of Magadh and sometimes under that of foreigners. At last during emperor Priyadarśin's rule, two rock-inscriptions were erected in it—the inscription at Śāhbāzgṛhī and the inscription at Manśerā. It is believed that the language used in these inscriptions is Kharoṣṭhī. After the death of Priyadarśin, the province again became independent. After a long interval of time, the Bactrian chiefs conquered it. When the Bactrian king, Demetrius, invaded India, many chiefs accompanied him. Three of them have become famous in history. All the three were natives of Kamboj. Two of them—Heliocles[11] and Menanḍer—were distant relatives of Demetrius. The third one was a native of Kamboj and he was a Kṣaharāṭ. He was a young man named Bhūmak[12]. These three generals proved very useful to Demetrius. When Menanḍer succeeded Demetrius as the lord of the Indian territory, he appointed his faithful and brave general Bhūmak, as the "Kṣatrap"[13] of the Madhya Deś. After the death of Menanḍer,

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(11) This Heliocles was the son of Eucratides who usurped the throne of Bactriā in the absence of Demetrius. After the death of Demetrius, Heliocles set out homewards. On the way he came across his father and killed him as a punishment for his treason. Then he himself ascended the throne of Bactriā.

(12) It is possible that Rājuvul also accompanied him. We are not, however, quite sure of it. Many circumstances lead us to believe that he also accompanied Bhūmak. Rājuvul was also appointed as a governor of Mathurā, by Menanḍer.

(13) R. W. W. Vol. II, pp. 13, f. n. no. 39:—"Chhatrapati or Chhatrap= Lord of the umbrella=a title of an ancient king in Jambūdwīp (hence a Satrap).

he declared his independence and proclaimed himself as the "Mahākṣatrap"[14] of the territory. From this it will be clear that:— (1) Though Bhūmak was a governor appointed by the Bactrian king, he was a kṣaharāṭ by birth. So, it is not proper to call him either a Śaka or a Pārthian, as some do. As a proof of this, his coins bear letters of the Kharoṣṭhī tongue. (2) Even the coins of Demetrius and Menander bear letters of the Kharoṣṭhī tongue, over and above the letters of the Bactrian tongue.

We have shown above that it is not true to call the Kṣaharāṭs, foreigners. Again, no chief belonging to these people was an independent king in the beginning. These chiefs were at first governors appointed by other kings. In course of time, however, some of them asserted their independence. Even then, none of them ever held titles like "King," "Great King" etc. They were called "Kṣatraps" or at the most, "Mahākṣatraps."

Their Kṣatraps

We have so far followed the policy of confining ourselves to accounts of kings only. No separate accounts have been given of those, who never were independent kings. The Kṣaharāṭs, when they first came to India, were merely governors subordinate to the authority of some kings. Later on, however, when the dynasty of their overlord came to an end, they proclaimed themselves independent kings of those provinces over which they were appointed as governors.

There were three Kṣatrapas of this kind. They were appointed as governors of three separate provinces. One was appointed as governor of the region covering Mathurā (Sūrasen) and Pāñchāl; the second, of a territory then called Madhya-deś; it consisted of the major portion of Rājputānā and the third over the Punjāb and the region surrounding Takṣilā. Later on, these Kṣaharāṭa

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"Chhatrapati" is a word of Sanskṛt origin; while "Satrap" is a word of Persian origin.

C. A. R. para 80:—"Persian word is Kṣaprapavan=protector.

(14) We have already shown the difference between a "Kṣatrap" and a "Mahākṣatrap." (Pp. 111). Vide the account of the Pahlavas.

kṣatraps, proclaimed themselves independent and assumed the title "Mahākṣatrap." From the political point of view, we may arrange them in order of importance as follows:—(1) Madhyadeś, (2) the region around Mathurā, and (3) the Punjāb. We will give below their accounts in the order stated above.

Our rule is not to give separate accounts of those who were merely "Kṣatraps." Again, it is stated above that the accounts of the three provinces are to be given here and that we start with Madhyadeś, because it is the most important. But this paragraph is to be devoted to quite a different thing—some details about Hagām and Hagāmāś. It has been found out that they never rose higher than "Kṣatrapī." Their rule extended over Mathurā or, at the most, over Takṣilā. We concern ourselves here with their accounts because no details have as yet been given about them anywhere. They have always remained in the background.

Some exceptions

They were Kṣatraps only; and did not rise to Mahākṣatrapī. Their coins have been found out in the region about Mathurā. We do not know whether they were contemporaries, or whether one succeeded the other. But it is certain that of all the Kṣatraps that held sway over this territory, they were the first. Mr. Vincent Smith says[15]:—"Rājuvul succeeded the Satraps Hagām and Hagāmāś (two brothers)." We might interpret this statement to mean that Hagām was the predecessor and Hagāmāś was the successor. It is not clear whether Rājuvul immediately succeeded them or whether some time elapsed between the rule of these two brothers and that of Rājuvul. We shall see later on that Rājuvul[16] was the first in his line. The same writer—Mr. Vincent Smith—says[17]:—"The arrow and the thunderbolt of Nahapāṇ's

(15) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 227; f. n. no. 1. C. H. I. pp. 526-27.

(16) We shall see later on that Rājuvul and Nahapāṇ were contemporaries. Mr. Thomas in his "Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum" says about Nahapāṇ, on pp. 195, vol. I:—"Hagām and Hagāmāś seem to be dated too early." This proves that they preceded Nahapāṇ and Rājuvul.

E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 218, f. n. no. 1.

(17) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 217.

coins connect him with Pārthians (?) and the northern Satraps Hagām and Hagāmāś. The coinage of Chaṣṭhaṇ and his successors is quite different." This shows that Nahapāṇ, Hagām and Hagāmāś belonged to the same family. We shall prove in the account of Nahapāṇ that he was a Kṣaharāṭ[18]. So these two brothers are automatically proved to be Kṣaharāṭs. The Chaṣṭhaṇs as their coins prove, belonged to a different family[19].

Hagām and Hagāmāś have been stated to have been the predecessors both of Rājuvul (read above) and of Nahapāṇ (f. n. no. 16 above). Rājuvul and Nahapāṇ, on the other hand, have been stated to have been contemporaries (f. n. no. 16). All these things lead us to the conclusion that both these brothers were the predecessors of Nahapāṇ and belonged to the same family as that of Nahapāṇ. We shall see later on that the immediate predecessor of Nahapāṇ was Bhūmak. Hence we conclude that all these succeeded one another in the following order:—Hagām and Hagāmāś; then Bhūmak and then Nahapāṇ. The thing that we have now to decide is, whether Bhūmak immediately succeeded Hagām and there elapsed an interval of time between them.

Their time

That there is a kṣatrap over a province means that he has an overlord—who, incidentally, is his contemporary—ruling either in India or in a foreign country. He has appointed a governor–a kṣatrap–because he himself cannot be on the spot—being a foreigner, or because his empire is so vast that it has to be divided into suitable provinces, with governors over every one of them. This shows that the overlord of Hagām and Hagāmāś must have been either the Persian emperor or the Bactrian king[20]. We know it as a

(18) Mr. Smith holds the opinion that Nahapāṇ was a Pārthian. We shall prove in his account that it was not so. So, I have put the interrogation mark here.

(19) We shall discuss this point later on.

(20) Vide pp. 117 above. Kṣatrapas belonging to three different people ruled over India at this time : from Persians, from Bactrians and from the Kṣaharāṭs. But a kṣatrap of the Kṣaharāṭas was a subordinate of the chief

historically recognized truth that[21], of the Persian or Pārthian emperors from Darius to Mithradates III, (B. C. 486 to B. C. 88), no emperor ever wielded any power over any territory in India. So, by the process of elemination we deduce that these kṣatraps had Bactrian kings as their overlords.

If we can decide, which of the Bactrian kings was their overlord, we can at once fix their time. We have stated in the account of Bactrians that only three Bactrian kings enjoyed power over some portions of India. They were Euthidemos, Demetrius and Menanḍer. Of these three, Euthidemos had simply invaded India, and then had returned home with the spoils of war. So we have to give our thoughts to the remaining two.

We know that these brothers were kṣatraps of Mathurā. Let us then find out which of the two—Demetrius and Menanḍer—had this province under his power, and for how much time. We have stated in the account of Demetrius (pp. 106) that he had hardly any territory in his power, beyond the banks of the Sutlej. Mathurā, as we know, is on the east of the Sutlej. So we clearly prove that these two brothers were kṣatraps under the overlordship of Menanḍer. We have fixed B. C. 182 to 159 as the period of the rule of Menanḍer. So these two brothers must have been governors any time within, or during, these 23 years. We have, again, stated above (pp. 129) that Rājuvul succeeded these two brothers in B. C. 156. (Vide his account). So the kṣatrapī of these two brothers began with the rule of Menanḍer and ended with his death. Probably they shared the same fate as Menanḍer's in the point of their deaths. In his account we have stated that while fighting with the Śunga king, Bhāg, he died of an epidemic which had caught hold of almost the whole of his army. In the account of Bhāg, we have stated that a certain Bactrian chief named Anticialtidas, who ruled over Takṣilā, had deputed an ambassador named Heliodorus to the court of

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of some other race, because there was no independent Kṣaharāṭa king at that time. Hagām and Hagāmāṣ were kṣatraps of this kind.

(21) Chap. II, the dynastic list.

the Śunga king, and had declared himself to be a devotee of Kṛṣṇa, in testimony of which, he had got erected a stone-stūpa in Besnagar, the capital of Bhāg. He must have shown this conciliatory attitude, because he must have heard that a powerful emperor like Menander died while fighting with the Śunga king. The whole situation took a different turn within a year or two. Rājuvul had firmly established his power over Mathurā; and we may safely conclude that, enraged at the defeat and the death of their overlord and many of his brave generals like Hagām and Hagāmāś, the yonas and kṣaharāṭas must have combined themselves under the banner of Rājuvul and must have challenged Bhāg to a battle, in which he must have suffered a heavy defeat. As a result of this, Mathurā and Pāñchāl were annexed to their kingdom by these foreign victors and Rājuvul, assuming the title "Mahākṣatrap," proclaimed himself as the king of the same. This took place in B. C. 156. The joint rule[22] of Hagām and Hagāmāś can be said to have lasted for 23 years—from B. C. 182 to 159. All these conclusions are open to corrections based on further research.

MADHYA-DEŚ

(1) BHŪMAK

Of the many names of kṣatraps we come across in ancient Indian history, some two or three are outstanding:—Nahapāṇ, Ṛṣabhadatta and Bhūmak. Their relations with one another and the time when they flourished have yet to be found out. So, we shall first of all try to find out the race to which they belonged and what relations they had with one another.

Bhūmak

Mr. Rapson says[23]:—"The earliest known member of the Kṣaharāṭa family,[24] whose name appears on coins only, is Bhūmak. This sanskritized form, of what is probably a Persian name,

(22) C. H. I. pp. 527:—"Hagām and Hagāmāś ruled conjointly."

(23) C. A. R. paragraph 87. The same book, introduction, pp. 37:—"It is the name of the family, to which Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ belonged.

(24) The "Kṣaharāṭ" was the name of a whole race, and not of a family, as referred to in f. n. no. 23.

appears in the Brāhmī coin legends, and in the Nāśik inscription of Ṛṣabhadatta and Dakṣamitrā, the name of Bhūmak is mentioned." So, Bhūmak was a Kṣaharaṭ, and he was the earliest known Kṣaharāṭa[25] kṣatrap. We can also deduce that his language resembled Brāhmī very much. (Cf. the comparison between Brāhmī and and Kharoṣṭhī on pp. 122), and that he must have been closely related to Ṛṣabhadatta and Dakṣamitrā,—husband and wife[26]—Dakṣamitrā being the daughter of Nahapāṇ Kṣaharāṭ. So, Nahapāṇ and Bhūmak also were closely related to each other.

Mr. Rapson[27], discussing the coins of Bhūmak, states:—"Their types are Arrow—Discus and Thunderbolt, Lion-capital. The obverse type of Bhūmak is continued by Nahapāṇ as the reverse type. Considerations of the type and fabric of the coins and the nature of the coin-legends leave no room for doubting that Bhūmak preceded Nahapāṇ; but there is no evidence to show relationship between them."

Now let us try to find out whether there was any relationship between them. We have arrived at the conclusion, on pp. 123, that Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ were closely related to each other. When we find the portrait-head of one person on one side of the coin, and the portrait-head of another person on the other side, it means that the person whose portrait-head is on the obverse side was the immediate predecessor of the person whose portrait-head is on the reverse side[28]. So, Bhūmak was the immediate predecessor of Nahapāṇ. Ṛṣabhadatta was the son-in-law

(25) We have stated above that Hagām and Hagāmāś were Kṣaharāṭs and that they were predecessors of Rājuvul. Later on, we shall prove that Rājuvul and Bhūmak were contemporaries. From this, we deduce that these brothers (?) were predecessors of Bhūmak also. Bhūmak, however, has been described as "the earliest known member" of the Kṣaharāṭa race, because the dates of Hagām and Hagāmāś have not yet been definitely fixed.

(26) Details about them will be given in the account of Nahapāṇ.

(27) C. A. R. paragraph 87.

(28) Or, the king whose portrait-head is found on the obverse side, may have been of a higher status. There was no such question, however, in the case of Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ. (Both were Mahākṣatraps.)

of Nahapāṇ and was his contemporary. We may arrange facts as follows:—Nahapāṇ was the immediate successor of Bhūmak; Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta were closely related to one another; Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ were both Kṣaharāṭs; Ṛṣabhadatta and Dakṣamitrā, in their charity-deed on copper plate included the name of Bhūmak; hence he must have been a close relative of Dakṣamitrā; again, when the father is a "Mahākṣatrap," the son is always a "Kṣatrap" among the Kṣaharāṭs; when the father dies, he comes to the throne and assumes the title "Mahākṣatrap." (Pp. 116); the same custom was uniformly observed by the Chaṣṭhaṇs, throughout their rule of 250 years; the same thing also took place in the case of Rājuvul and his son Ṣoḍās, contemporaries of Bhūmak. All these things taken into consideration lead us to the inevitable conclusion that Bhūmak was the father and Nahapāṇ was his son.

Their dates

Numerous coins of Bhūmak have been found out; but none of them bear any date. Neither do we find any rock-inscription bearing any date[29]. The coins of Nahapāṇ also do not bear any date. His rock-inscriptions however, have dates upon them. This is very fortunate. Mr. Rapson says[30]:—"No dated coins but dates in inscriptions are 41, 45 & 46." The same scholar has elsewhere[31] observed:—"The last recorded date of Nahapāṇ is Śaka 46." In the same book, introduction, pp. 49, he states, while discussing coin no. 35:—"Ayam of Vatsa gotra, minister of (Raja) Mahākṣatrap Swāmī Nahapāṇ." Read in conjunction, these extracts mean that upto 45, Nahapāṇ was a kṣatrap; in 46, however, he became "Rājā Mahākṣatrap Swāmī Nahapāṇ." What do the numbers 45 and 46 signify ? Are they dates of an era ? Do they signify the age of Bhūmak or the duration of his reign ? In the account of Menanḍer we have stated that Bhūmak had to fight a battle against Ādrak or Balamitra—the Śunga king, and that pierced by an arrow in the vital parts, Ādrak had died, in B. C.

(29) C. A. R. pp. 63:—"No dated coins or inscriptions known."
(30) Ibid. Pp. 65.
(31) Ibid. Intro. pp. 26, paragraph 33.

159=A. M. 368. Again in north India, Menanḍer died while fighting against Bhānumitra, the Śunga king, and thus ended the rule of that family. It is possible that Bhūmak proclaimed himself as an independent ruler after the death of his overlord, Menanḍer. Nahapāṇ, on the other hand, is proved to have been the king of Avantī in B. C. 114=A. M. 413, after having killed the last Śunga king. (Pp. 106). So, Bhūmak scored a victory against the Śunga king in B. C. 158-59 and his son Nahapāṇ became the independent ruler of Avantī in B. C. 114. The rock-inscription erected by the minister of Nahapāṇ tells us that he was a kṣatrap upto 45, and became "Mahākṣatrap" in 46. If we deduct 114 from 159, the remainder is exactly 45. So, we come to the following conclusions:—(1) Bhūmak proclaimed himself the independent ruler of his province in B. C. 158-59. (2) His rule lasted for 45 years, and he died in B. C. 114. (3) During these 45 yeats, Nahapāṇ was the heir-apparent, and consequently, a kṣatrap. (4) In the 46th year, Nahapāṇ became "Mahākṣtrap." (5) Immediately after this, he invaded Avantī, killed the last Śunga king and became the ruler of Avantī. Then he began to call himself "Mahākṣatrap" and "Rājā=King" also.

We have seen above, that Bhūmak ruled as an independent king for 45 years, from B. C. 159 to 114. Before that, he was a kṣatrap. During his kṣatrapī he got his coins minted. Now, when Demetrius came to India, he had yet to conquer her and establish his power. This means, that he had not territory large enough under his power to come to the necessity of appointing kṣatraps. Had any necessity arisen, the first preference would have been given to Menanḍer. In short, Bhūmak was not appointed as a kṣatrap during the time of Demetrius. When Menanḍer came to the throne, a tolerably large portion of India was under his power, and by his valour he added many other provinces to his kingdom. So in B. C. 181 or there about, he appointed kṣatraps. So, Bhūmak must have enjoyed his kṣatrapī from nearly B. C. 180 to 158=22 years.

Bhūmak's rule lasted for 45 years. That number has been inscribed in the inscription by the minister of Nahapāṇ. In all

the inscriptions of Nahapāṇ and Bhūmak, numbers are found, which can be counted back to B. C. 159, the year when Bhūmak began his rule as an independent king. So the Kṣaharāṭas must have begun a new era from B. C. 159, in commemoration of the establishment of the independent rule of their chief. We may reasonably call it "Kṣaharāta Era".[32]

The Kṣharāṭa Era

Bhūmak was a kṣatrap for 28 years and an independent ruler for next 45 years. The duration of his life may well have been 100 years.

			Age
Bhūmak's birth		A. M. 314 = B. C. 213[33]	0
,,	Kṣatrap	A. M. 345 = B. C. 182[34]	31
,,	Mahākṣatrap	A. M. 368 = B. C. 159[35]	54
,,	Death	A. M. 413 = B. C. 114 =	99

Whatever provinces he may have conquered during his kṣatrapī, cannot be included in his territorial extent. He conquered them for his overlord, Menanḍer. None the less, we may point out provinces, which he conquered for his master.

When Demetrius established himself in India, the Punjab and some hilly region on its west were under his power. So Menanḍer inherited these regions only, when he succeeded Demetrius. Then. the skilful generalship of Bhūmak won for him all the territory on the south of the Sutlej[36]. Menanḍer appointed him as the governor of this conquered territory. Bhūmak continued to conquer one territory after another. By the time Menanḍer died, the whole of territory

The extent of his territory

(32) The first year of the Kṣaharāṭa Era. The year was B. C. 158.

(33) So, he was a young man of 21, when he first came to India with Demetrius. (Vide the account of Demetrius).

(34) Bhūmak was appointed as a kṣatrap, when Menander came to the throne. (Vide Menander's account).

(35) Cf. f. n. no. 32 above).

(36) It has been proved that Demetrius died while fighting against Agnimitra, on the banks of the Sutlej. That means that the progress of his territorical expansion stopped there. (Vide the account of Demetrius).

on the west of the Arvalli hills in Rājputānā, Sindh[37], Cutch, and Saurāṣṭra were annexed by him to the kingdom of his master. In the year in which Menander died, or a year before that, he achieved a victory over Balamitra, the Śunga king. He does not seem to have conquered the remaining portion of Gujarāt (probably called Lāṭ in those times)[38]. Balamitra was succeeded by his brother, Bhānumitra. He was a brave king. So Gujarāt remained under his power. But immediately after his death in 142 B. C., Nahapāṇ, the son of Bhūmak, conquered it and annexed it to his kingdom. Ṛṣabhdatta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ, was an able general and had joined the army of his father-in-law. With a large army he marched into the southern region of the river Tāpti, conquered it and advanced further upto the source of the Godāvarī. That region was at that time called "Govardhan-samay", and was under the power of the Śātakaraṇi Āndhra kings. The Āndhra army had to retreat and the region was annexed by him to the Kṣaharāṭa kingdom[39]. All these things took place during the time of Bhūmak[40]. So Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhdatta had conquered many provinces during their lifetimes.

Scholars are of the opinion that the Broach district of Gujarāt was conquered by Bhūmak during the time of Menander and that is the reason why—they say—the coins of Menander and Bhūmak are found there. My opinion is that the district was conquered by Nahapāṇ during the lifetime of Bhūmak, and that

(37) The coins of Bhūmak and of Menander are found here. So the conclusion of the scholars. But, as I have shown above, coins are not always the sure indication of a ruler's hegemony over a place. (Cf. f. n. no. 41 below).

(38) Evidence is found in Jaina books to the effect that this province was under the power of Bhānumitra. (Vide ante pp. 65.)

(39) The Nāsik and Junner inscriptions prove this. They contain a statement to the effect that Ṛṣabhadatta and Dakṣamitrā gave much wealth in charity.

(40) The dates of charity deeds have been mentioned in those rock-inscriptions. Those dates can be proved to be within the period of the rule of Bhūmak.

Menander's territotial extent did not go as far as that. That a particular person's coins are found at a particular place does not always mean that the place was under his power. The coins are the life and blood of trade and commerce, and hence travel far and wide.[41] The entry of other king's coins into his kingdom depended on the ruler of a province. If he was broad-minded and friendly, he might allow them entry into his kingdom. The successors of Bhūmak allowed the currency of the coins of Menander in their kingdom, probably because he was the overlord of their illustrious predecessor, Bhūmak. We shall discuss this in details when we come to the description of the Nasik inscription, which contain sentences in the name of queen Balaśree, the mother of Gautamiputra Śātakaraṇi. We shall have occasion to do this in the account of the territorial extent of Nahapāṇ.

Bhūmak does not seem to have got his own coins minted either during his kṣatrapī or during his independent rule. Probably he was not much interested in wordly fame, as he rose to mahakṣatrapī at an advanced age. He ruled peacefully and devoted his attention to securing the prosperity of his subjects.

The seat of his capital

The territory over which he ruled was called "Madhya-deś", because it was in the centre of India.[42] The name of its capital was "Madhyamikā"; so the scholars say. It was situated in a place very near Chitor. I hold the opinion, on the other hand, that his power never spread in the east of the Arvalli hills. Hence Madhymikā could not have been in Mewār. Nahapāṇ, the son of Bhūmak, however, brought this eastern region under his power, just before he conquered Avantī from the Śunga king. So, for an interval of a year or two, the seat of the capital might have been shifted to the region about Chitor. But this happened rather during the time of Nahapāṇ, who with the help of his son-in-law Ṛṣabhadatta, had marched unto south, after having traversed through Gujarāt. He had taken the route to the south of Śirohi for this

(41) We see the same state of things prevailing in all countries at present.

(42) (Vol. II, pp. 64). In ancient books, it is also called "Matsya Deś."

purpose—the route stretching around the Arvalli and the Sālambar hills. Hence the seat of Bhūmak's capital in Chitor–Mewār is out of question.

It is difficult to point out a definite place as the seat of his capital. We may, however, try to indicate three or four possible places. This might help scholars in their further research on this point. The first likely place is the city of Bhinnamāl.[43] It was in the district of Golwāḍ in the Śirohi State, and on the south of Jodhpur; Trambāvaṭī is the second such city, which was situated on the western borders of Arvalli hills. The region about it was rich in copper mines; so the name of the city. Even at present the soil has a copper-like colour. Vairāṭnagar[44] is the third in the category. At that place was erected the Bābhrā–Vairāṭ inscription of Priyadarśin. It can be located near the town of Mancheri in Alwar State. Harśapur is the fourth such place, a city which was in a highly prosperous condition in the 1st. century B. C. It was situated between Ajmer and Puśkar. The coins of Bhūmak have been found out from this place.[45] The city has been described in the Jaina books[46] in the following manner:— " It has three hundred Jaina temples,—four hundred mansions, eighteen hundred Brāhmin houses, thirty six thousand Vaṇika houses, nine hundred parks and gardens, nine hundred wells, and seven hundred houses of charity. The name of the king is Subhaṭapāl." Of these four places, Bhinnamāl is the most likely as his first seat of capital[47]; later on, due to political exegencies and

(43) Vide vol. I, pp. 64, f. n. no. 63–64; pp. 211; vol. II, pp. 174. More details will be given in the account of the Śakas.

H. U. Ch. pp. 58 (published by G. V. S.):—"Fifty miles in the south-west of Mt. Ābu, was Bbinnamāl or Śrīmālnagar, the capital of the Gūrjar Rajputs. The Gūjar dynasty ruling over Broach, was a branch of the Bhinnamāl dynasty." F. n. no. 46 below.

(44) Vol. I, pp. 49, f. n. no. 22. Vol. II, pp. 316.

(45) C. A. R. pp. 64, also see f. n. no. 48.

(46) K. S. S. com. pp. 128.

(47) About the capital of Nahapāṇ, it is stated on Cam. Short His. of Ind. pp. 81:—"His capital is said to have been Min-nagar which has not been identified."

due to the expansion of his kingdom, he may have given preference to Harṣapur[48], which was on the northern end of Aravalli Hills.

Some scholars have called Bhūmak's dynasty "The Shāhi kings of Kathiāwār." According to my opinion that description properly belongs to the dynasty established by Ṛṣabhadatta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ. Details about this will be given in the account of Ṛṣabhadatta.

[Note : Min-nagar seems to have been a deteriorated form of Bhin-nagar, itself a shortened form of Bhinnamāl.

Some scholars hold the opinion that Min-nagar was situated in the Indus Delta, near the mouth of the Indus.]

(48) This is the reason why Ṛṣabhdatta is said to have gone to Puśkar and consecreted there (vide C. A. R., Nasik inscription no. 31 on pp. lvi).



Chapter IV

Foreign Invaders (Contd.)

KṢAHARĀTA KṢATRAPS

MADHYA DEŚ (Contd.)

Synopsis:—(2) *Nahapāṇ—His names and titles—His attempts at conquering Avantī even at the risk of his life—His time and the duration of his life—Details about his family—The extent of his territory—His enmity with the Śātakaraṇī, ruler of Āndhra, on account of his territorial ambitions—The bitterness of the Āndhras—The seat of his capital and his coins—His attempts at making his subjects happy and prosperous and the measure of success attained by him—Some examples of his political wisdom and sagacity—Whose example did he follow in politics? A review of his policy and its success—Explanation of the reason why—though a ruler of Avantī—his account has been given side by side with those of the petty Kṣatraps—Relations between Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ—Some details about the historical importance of the Kaṇvas.*

(2) NAHAPĀṆ

When Bhūmak died in A. M. 413 = B. C. 114, his son Nahapāṇ succeeded him on the throne. He then assumed the title "Mahākṣatrap". This happened in the 45th year of the Kṣaharāṭa Era. Next year,—possibly after six or eight months[1]—he invaded Avantī, fought against the last Śunga king, Devbhūti, killed him, and himself became the ruler of Avantī. More probably still, when Nahapāṇ invaded Avantī, the Kaṇva minister got Devbhūti murdered in the harem by some queen or some courtesan.

His names and titles

Ujjaini, the capital of Avantī, was at that time at the height of its prosperity. It was one of the sacred places of the Hindus. Being situated in a central position, it was a politically important centre[2]. On account of this reason, Priyadarśin, the Mauryan emperor, had shifted here the seat of his capital from Pātliputra. Its importance from the astronomical point of view was not a whit less[3]. Its trade and commerce made it as important as its being one of the holiest place of the Jains[4]. So every Indian king always cherished it as his highest ambition to become the ruler of Avantī, and he faced all risks and dangers that came his way. The first thing that Nahapāṇ did after his accession to the throne, was to mobilize his army and march towards Avantī. Licentiousness ruled supreme in Avantī at this time, both at court and among people. This state of affairs facilitated Nahapāṇ's way. And we have already stated that he scored an easy success and became the ruler of Avantī. In fact, he was the first foreigner to have the honour to become the master of so sacred a place as Ujjaini. He assumed the title "King" and made Ujjaini the seat of his capital. This took place in the 46th year of the Kṣaharāṭa era—i. e. in A. M. 413 = B. C. 114. He also got coins minted with his new title upon them. He had not,

(1) F. n. no. 13 below.

(2) Vol. I. pp. 178 and further; Vol. II, pp. 269. Vide the account of Gautamīputra Śatakaraṇī, for details about the founding of the Śaka Era.

(3) Vol. II, pp. 269 & seq.

(4) Vol. I, pp. 178 & seq. and further upto pp. 194.

however, given up his former title. We find rock-inscriptions in which he has called himself "Mahākṣatrap" and "King" side by side, and sometimes "Swāmi" also.

We know that victorious foreigners were always conquered by Āryan civilization. Most of the foreigners who settled in India, gradually adopted, and grasped the superiority of Āryan civilization and culture. In India, they lived more like Indians than like foreigners.[5] In Jaina books, Nahapāṇ has been given an Indian name, which was Narvāhan or Nabhovāhan[6] or Nabhavāhan[7]. It is stated on Pp. 357 and 398 Vol. V, 1929 of "The Indian Historical Quarterly," in connection with the life of Nahapāṇ, on the authority of Pundit Jayaswāl:—"Narvahan of this katha is named Nahapan in an ancient pattavali[8] and his name bears resemblance to Nahapan." It is stated further on[9]:—" Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has also taken the Jaina Narvahan to be the kṣatrapa king Nahapana. Hence we can say that Nahapana did profess Jainism in his after life."[10] His father also had given up his original name and had taken up the name Bhūmak[11]. So did Nahapāṇ. In his coins, however, we should state, that he seems to have continued to call himself Nahapāṇ.

The Nasik rock-inscription definitely states that upto the 45th year of the Kṣaharāṭa era he was a kṣatrap, and that he became "Mahakṣatrap" in the 46th year of that era[12].—i. e.

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(5) O. H. I. pp. 142:—The tendency certainly was for Indo-Greek princes and people to be Hinduized rather than for the Indian Rājās and their subjects to be Hellinized."

(6) Vide his account in Pariśiṣṭha Parva.

(7) J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. IX, pp. 148:—"King Nabhovāhan is also called Nabhavāhan." J. B. O. R. S. pp. 102.

(8) "Jaina Sāhitya Sanśodhak"—a quarterly—vol. I, part IV, pp. 211; f. n. no. 7 above.

(9) I. H. Quart. vol. V.

(10) My opinion on this point is a bit different. It will be stated later on. See paragraph entitled "His Family."

(11) Pp. 133 above. "A sanskritized form of the Persian name."

(12) C. A. R. pp. 65, f. n. no. 1:—"In inscriptions, Kṣaharāṭa kṣatrapa years 41, 42, and 45. Mahākṣatrap Swāmī, year 46. On the coins, the title Kṣatrap Mahā-kṣatrap does not occur; unlike Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ is always called Rājā."

in A. M. 413 = B. C. 114. Within next six or eight months[13], he became the master of Avantī. His rule is said to have lasted for a period of forty years (Vol. I, P. 202). In the 86th year of the Kṣaharāṭa Era, i. e. in A. M. 453 = B. C. 74, his rule ended, and probably he died at that time. So he ruled from B. C. 114 to 74.

His time and the duration of his life

As regards his life, we have stated that, that Bhūmak became an independent ruler in the 45th year of his life. He, then, assumed the title "Mahakṣatrap" and Nahapāṇ was made "Kṣatrap", as was the custom among the "Kṣaharāṭas".[14] So, when Bhūmak came to the throne, Nahapāṇ must have been at least 15 to 16 years old. When he ascended the throne after 45 years of his father's rule, he must have been 15+45=60 years old. Add to this the forty years of his rule, and we may call him to have scored a century in terms of years. The account of Ṛṣabhadatta, his son-in-law, lends colour to this view. In his charity deed[15] is mentioned no. 45 of the Kṣaharāṭa era. The inscription clearly gives us to understand that Nahapaṇ was a kṣatrap upto that time. That was the last year of his "kṣatrapī," as we have stated on the previous pages. Ṛṣabhadatta, at that time, had achieved a victory in a battle. That means that Nahapāṇ must have been old enough to have become the father-in-law of Ṛṣabhadatta. We may arrange the different dates of Nahapāṇ's life in the following manner:—

(13) F. n. no. 1 above.

(14) J. I. H. Quart. vol. XII, pp. 39:—(According to Prof. Sten Konow), "Nahapāṇ is styled Sāmī, Sank Swāmī & Rājā...Mahākṣatrap, Sāmī Chaṣṭraṇ..."

[Note : The terms "Rājā," "Mahākṣatrap—Sāmī" are stated in order of their importance. We understand from this account, that Chaṣṭhaṇ was first called "Mahākṣatrap;" later on he assumed the title "King." This shows that "King" was a title superior to "Mahākṣatrap." "Sāmī" was an inferior title. This conclusion is supported by the coins of the last kings of the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty. When their power was weakened and they were defeated by other kings, they called themselves "Sāmī." (vide Vol. IV). Nahapāṇ was at first "Swāmī." "Swāmī" was perhaps an Indian equivalent for "Kṣatrap." Then he became "Mahākṣatrap" and then "King."

(15) F. n. no. 16 below.

	A. M.	B. C.	Age
Birth	353	174	0
Kṣatrap	369	158	16
Mahākṣatrap	413	114	60
King	413	114	60
Death	453	74	100

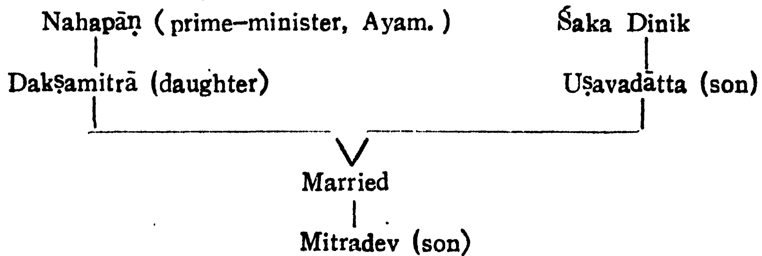
Bhūmak was his father's name. Except this and except the fact that he had a daughter named Dakṣamitrā, who was married to Ṛṣabhadatta or Uṣavadātta, the son of a Śaka general named Dinik, we know little about his family[16].

His family

He seems to have had no son. May be, that a son of his, may have died during his lifetime. Had he had a son, his name would certainly have been mentioned in connection with at least some political events, as Nahapāṇ's own name has been mentioned in connection with events that took place during the lifetime of Bhūmak. On the contrary, Ṛṣabhadatta's name figures prominently in events that took place during his lifetime. Even before Nahapāṇ came to the throne, Ṛṣabhadatta had achieved many

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(16) Bh. P. R. Part I, pp. 1.



C. A. R. Introduction, pp. 104, paragraph, 84, f. n. no. 1:–"Nahapāṇ's son–in–law Uṣavadātta (Ṛṣavadatta) was probably a Śaka with Hinduised name.

J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. VIII, pp. 239:–"Uṣavadatta, son of Dinik, was married to Dakṣamitrā, daughter of Nahapāṇ.

J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. VIII, pp. 63:–"Nahapāṇ's daughter Dakṣamitrā, was married to Śaka Uṣavadātta, whose inscriptions at Kārlā and Nāsik record benefactions at various places.

In C. H. I. pp 577, Ṛṣabhadatta is stated to have been a brother–in–law of Nahapāṇ.

victories, had become the master of the territory around Nāsik, and had performed many deeds of charity in the name of Nahapāṇ. His rock-inscriptions stand to-day in testimony to these things. Nahapāṇ was succeeded neither by any son nor by his son-in-law.

We have stated above that he died a natural death after a rule of forty years. In " Indian Historical Quarterly. " 1929, Vol. V, pp. 536, a different version is given about his death. An extract from " Śrutāvatāra Kathā " is given there in support of that version[17]. This version, however, receives little support from any other quarter, and hence cannot be taken as probable. We have given in the foregoing pages a connected account of Nahapāṇ's life,

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(17) The extract is given below—i. e. its English version. It is taken from "Śrutāvatār Kathā" by Vibhudha Śrīdhar. It is a book belonging to the Digambara sect of the Jains.

"In India there was a city named Vasudhā in Vāmideś. A king named Narvāhan ruled over it. His beautiful queen had no son, and so passed her days in misery and sorrow. Once a merchant named Subuddhi approached the king and advised him to worship in Jaina temples if he wanted to have a son. He said that by doing so, he would have a son and he should give him the name Padma. So the king became a devout Jain, began to attend the Jaina church regularly, began to go on a pilgrimage to Jaina holy places every year with a large number of Jains with him, and thus hoped for a son. At last, seeing that the true aim of life did not lay in material conquest and prosperity, and having been initiated into the realms of spiritual development of the soul, he entered the Jaina holy orders, and severed all his worldly ties."

It has been further stated in the same book—"He studied the Jaina Siddhānta from one Dharsenāchārya and composed a new work on Jaina philosophy. The Aṅgas were quite extinct at that time."

[Note : All this seems to me to be improbable, and much more so, the thing stated in the latter extract. We know that by the end of his reign, he was in his hundredth year. Is it possible that he became a Jaina monk at such an advanced age ? Neither were the Aṅgas destroyed at that time. Nearly 125 years after that time (upto A. D. 30, the years in which Āchārya Vajraswāmī died, according to the Śwetāmbars) Vajraswāmi knew ten Parvas. That is a universally recognized fact. Except the fact that Narvāhan had no son, everything else stated above seems to be improbable and unreliable.]

and most of the details are based upon the irrefutable evidence of coins and rock-inscriptions. Hence our version of his death may be taken as reliable and true.

Nahapāṇ was a kṣaharāṭa and, naturally, a native of Kamboj. His son-in-law, Ṛṣabhadatta, on the other hand, was a Śaka—one of the Indo-Scythians. Hosts of Indo-Scythians had migrated to India at different times. To which of these groups belonged the ancestors of Ṛṣabhadatta, we shall better decide in the account of the Śakas to be given hereafter. It may be noted here that though Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta belonged to different races, yet they united themselves with blood-relationship. This shows that all foreigners in India had a sort of common bond among them, and followed the same faith. This also shows that racial distinctions and prejudices had receded into background in course of time.

Forty six or Seventy six ?

Nahapāṇ's prime-minister, Ayama by name, got a rock-inscription erected in the 46th year of the Kṣaharāṭa era. We have stated above that in this inscription he is styled " Mahākṣatrap. " Some scholars are, however, of the opinion that the rock-inscription was erected in the 76th year of the Kṣaharāṭa era. Now, Kṣaharāṭa's rule lasted from the 46th to the 86th years of the Kṣaharāṭa era. So if we accept 76 as the year of the erection of the rock-inscription, there would be no objection to it, because it would be within the period of Nahapāṇ's rule. But there are solid objections to the theory. For instance, by the 76th year of the Kṣaharāṭa era, Nahapāṇ had already assumed the greater title–" King. " In fact, he had assumed that title immediately after his conquest of Avantī at the end of the 46th year of the era. His coins are a testimony[18] to this fact. Ayama has called him " Mahākṣatrap "[19] in the inscription. Again Jaina books tell us that Nahapāṇ had become the king of Avantī in A. M. 413 = B. C. 114 = 46 K. E. Other historical events also go against the theory

(18) See f. n. no. 12 and 14 above.

(19) See f. n. no. 12 and 14 above.

They have not been described here because they are connected with Śātavāhana kings. In short, 46 is the correct year of the inscription.[20]

We have already stated that Bhūmak had ascended the throne when he had become middle-aged. So he had no further territorial ambitions. He wanted to have a peaceful time and devote his energies to the well-being of his subjects. His son, Nahapāṇ, however had hot blood in his veins and was actively supported by his son-in-law, Ṛṣabhadatta. So during the reign of Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta had conquered the regions around the Narmadā and the Taptī, and had brought all territory upto Nāsik within the power of Bhūmak. Nahapāṇ at this time was a kṣatrap. But all the territorial expansion during Bhūmak's rule goes to his credit. And when he succeeded Bhūmak on the throne, he became the master of all these provinces.

The extent of his territory

He was in the 60th year of his life when he ascended the throne. But his territorial ambitions had not abated, and he had the heart of a young man. So, immediately after his accession, he invaded and conquered all the regions on the east of Arvalli. For this purpose he marched through Ajmer on the north of the Arvalli hills[21] and by lake Puṣkar. His attention in doing so was to encamp his army at a strategic point on the western borders of Avantī, and then launch an attack upon it. We know that Avantī was at that time under the power of the Śunga kings, who had degenerated into the depths of wantonness. Again, Avantī held the key-position in India, in ways more than one. So Nahapāṇ invaded it, and having conquered it and having killed the Śunga king, himself ascended the throne and assumed the title "King." He also got his coins minted with that title upon them[22]. This took place in B. C. 114=A. M. 413 or during the 46th year of the Kṣaharāṭa era.

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(20) F. n. no. 66 below.

(21) The territorial extent of Bhūmak was upto the western portion of the Arvalli hills.

(22) Read the later paragraph for more details.

While he was thus busy conquering territory after territory in the north; his son-in-law, Ṛṣabhadatta and his prime-minister Ayama led an invasion in the south over the Āndhra king. The seat of the Āndhra capital was Paiṭhaṇ (or Junner). The Āndhra king was defeated in the battle that followed, and so his kingdom and all the region upto the source of the Godāvarī in the Govardhan district were annexed to the kingdom of Nahapāṇ. This took place two or four month's after Nahapāṇ's conquest in the north[23]. This was a terrible defeat and a great blow to the power of the Śātavāhana kings. They had to shift their seat of capital as back as Warangul. Generations of Śātavāhana kings ruled in Warangul, but the stain on their fame was never forgotten. At last it was fully wiped out when Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī defeated and massacred all the descendants of Nahapāṇ and of Ṛṣabhadatta. The victory gave the greatest imaginable delight to the Śātavāhana king and to his mother, Queen Balaśrī[24]. In celebration of it they got erected a rock-inscription at Nāsik, which contains the words " Restored the glory of the Śātavāhans[25]," and also " Destroyed

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(23) No. 46 is written in the Nāśik rock-inscription. See f. n. no. 12 above.

C. A. R. Introduction, pp. 59. Details are given there about Nāśik rock-inscription no. 35. There, are mentioned names "Ayama," "Mahākṣatrap" and the " no. 46 ".

(24) C. A. R. Introduction, pp. 36, paragraph 44.

(25) Some one may well argue that though Nāśik inscription undoubtedly proves that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi revived the lost prestige of the dynasty, it does not mention directly or indirectly that the loss of prestige was due to Nahapāṇ. In answer to this, we may state that during the interval of two hundred years, from B. C. 114 to A. D. 78, three dynasties were in power:— (1) The Gardabhīla dynasty in Ujjaini; (2) The Śātavāhana dynasty in Deccan; and (3) Kṣaharāṭa dynasty in Saurāṣṭra. So, it naturally follows that either the Gardabhīla dynasty or the Kṣaharāṭa dynasty was responsible for the stain on the prestige of the Śātavāhans. Out of these two, the Gardabhīla dynasty was fast on the way to its decline, and the kings in the dynasty were too weak even to think of an invasion over the kingdom of another power. So, by process of elimination, we come to Nahapāṇ and consider him to have been responsible for the disgrace to the Śātavāhans.

the Śakas, Yavans, Pahlavas etc. and rooted out the Kṣaharāṭas[26]."

These words show us that they held these foreigners in utter contempt and looked upon them as despicable[27] creatures. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī's hatred for Kṣaharāṭas seems to have been even more bitter than his hatred for the Śakas, because, after all, it was Nahapāṇ, a Kṣaharāṭ, who had asked Ṛṣabhadatta, a Śaka, to fight a battle against his forefathers. The moving force, according to him was Nahapāṇ, and Ṛṣabhadatta was more or less the person who executed his orders. Hence we find in the inscription that with regard to the Śakas, the Śātakarṇī king rested content with " destroyed," but as far as the Kṣaharāṭas were concerned he got it inscribed that they were utterly " rooted out[28]." This took place in A. D. 78, i. e. nearly two hundred years after the conquest of Paiṭhaṇ by Ṛṣabhadatta and Amaya. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī, however, got Paiṭhaṇ, which was in ruins, repaired with the intention of changing the seat of his capital there. The reparations took five years, and in the meanwhile he

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(26) C. A. R. pp. 104:—"Had exterminated the race of Kṣaharāṭs.
J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928, pp. 65.

(27) To have an idea of this bitter hatred, the reader is referred to the description of coin no. 75 in vol. II. On the coin of Nahapāṇ, Gautamīputra had got his own portrait-head minted.

(28) Some are of the opinion that Gautamīputra had killed both Nahapāṇ and Rsabhadatta. But this is not possible, because Nahapāṇ and Rsabhadatta lived in 74 B. C. while, Gautamīputra lived in 78 A. D. There was an interval of 150 years between their times.

C. A. R. pp. 105:—"The descendants of Nahapāṇ were exterminated by Gautamīputra."

J. B. B. R. A. S. New edition, vol. III, pp. 64:—"The figures on coins prove conclusively that Nahapāṇ and Gautamīputra were not contemporaries, but were separated by a very long period."

I. A. vol. 37, pp. 43:—"The mere mention that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi extinguished the Kṣaharāṭa family does not imply that he defeated Nahapāṇ himself. He might have defeated a weak descendant of that prince."

O. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 217:—"Nahapāṇ was dead before Gautamīputra extirpated his family and clan."

died. His son, Pulumāvī Śātakarṇī, succeeded him on the throne, and the first thing that he did was to shift the seat of his capital from Warangul to Paiṭhaṇ. On account of reparations the appearance of Paiṭhaṇ had changed very much. Hence it was given the name–Navanagar–Navinagarī=a new city[29]. Nahapāṇ's conquest was thus amply punished. The feud between the families lasted for nearly two hundred years. The Śātakarṇī kings were satisfied when they had thus wreaked vengeance upon the descendants of these foreigners.

While describing his territorial extent, one historian has stated[30]:—"His dominion comprised a large area, extending from southern Rajputānā[31] to the Nāsik and Poonā districts in the western ghāṭs and including the peninsula of Saurāṣṭra in Kāthiāwār." Sir Cunningham also has described his territorial extent in similar terms[32].

We know that Magadh, with Pāṭaliputra as its capital, was at the height of its prosperity and power, and was considered as a first class centre of political activity upto the end of the reign of Aśok. Then Priyadarśin changed the seat of his capital to Ujjaini in Avantī. Since then, Magadh ceased to be a province of political importance. Hence Nahapāṇ probably never entertained the idea of invading and conquering it. Eastern India was thus not included in his kingdom.[33].

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(29) For details, vide J. B. B. R. A. S. New edition, vol. III.

(30) E. H. I. 3rd edition, pp. 209. C. A. I. pp. 104.

(31) His territory extended upto Sindh in the west and upto the Sutlej in the north-west. In the account of Bhūmak we have proved that his power was spread over this region. Historians have, however, yet not found out the relationship between Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ. Hence they cannot come to the conclusion that Nahapāṇ inherited Bhūmak's territory. So they believe that the territorial boundaries of Nahapāṇ's kingdom began from the south of Rajputānā.

(32) C. A. I. pp. 104:—"As his dominions embraced Prabhās in Kāthiāwār, as well as Braganza (Broach) to the north of the Narmadā with Sopārā and Nāśik to the south, his capital was probably at Ujjain."

(33) Probably, Magadh was under the rule of an independent dynasty. A branch of the Mauryan dynasty is said to have ruled over Magadh upto the

Sursen and Pāñchāl were under the rule of Mahākṣatraps Rājuvul and Ṣoḍās, who were Kṣaharāṭa chiefs. In the same way, the region of the Punjab and Takṣilā was under the power of Mahākṣatraps Leak and Pātik. They were also Kṣaharāṭs. It is probable that these Kṣaharāṭa rulers maintained very friendly relations[34] with one another. Certain historical events support this contention. Being foreigners hailing from the same territory, they must have thought it wise and safe to give a united front to Indians as well as to other foreigners. Hence, Nahapāṇ had no territotial possession or intentions in northern India. He had thus extended his power in southern and western India. The rest of his time he devoted to public well-being and to the consolidation of his power.

The seat of his capital and his coins

It is only too true, that one mistake leads to another and the process goes on ad infinitum[35]. The accounts of the foreign invaders as given by scholars hitherto, are full of such mistakes at every step. We would not be guilty of exaggeration if we called them a series of mistakes and hence a tissue of lies. The accounts of these foreign invaders, to which this whole part of the book is devoted, will clearly illustrate the truth of the statement made above.

We have seen in the account of Bhūmak, that various opinions exist about the seat of his capital. The case of Nahapāṇ is in the same category. According to some scholars, Madhyamikā was the seat of his capital; according to others, it was Junner near Poonā. Still others say that it was Mandsore near Ratlām. Last, but not the least, some other scholars have fixed up Ujjaini for the purpose.

6th or the 7th century A. D. (Vol. II, accounts of Daśarath and Śāliśuk). Agnimitra, the Śunga king, as we know, had destroyed Pāṭaliputra. The seat of the capital must have been shifted elsewhere.

(34) Vide further the account of Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul. These three chiefs often met one another for religious purposes.

(35) The reader is referred to vol. II, as an illustration of this. The volume is devoted to the account of the Mauryan dynasty, and is full of theories of a startling nature, yet, none the less true.

A scholar says[36]:—"The capital of the kingdom of Nahapāṇ was probably at Junner and not at Mandsore as suggested by Prof. D. R. Bhāṇḍārkar. Nahapāṇ's rule was in all probability a long and prosperous one." This is only one of the many theories. The rock-inscriptions of Nahapāṇ have been found out at Nāsik, Kārlā, Sopārā, Poona, Junner and at other places. Scholars have called them by a common name "Nāsik Group." Now we should not forget that all these places were originally under the rule of the Śātakarṇī kings, and that battles between the armies of Nahapāṇ led by the minister Ayama and Ṛṣabhadatta, and the armies of the Śātavāhan king, were fought there. This clearly shows one thing; and that is, Nahapāṇ's seat of capital was at none of these places at the beginning of his rule. He conquered them after he came to his throne. Again, the conquest of this region by Nahapāṇ does not necessarily mean that he had the seat of his capital there. Neither does the presence of his rock-inscriptions in the region point that way. They were erected as marks of his victory, or in order to expiate the sins of the battles fought there. The rock-inscriptions in these places do not contain any reference to Nahapāṇ's seat of capital having been there. In fact, we gather no impression to that effect by reading them. So to fix up any of these places as the seat of his capital would not only be far-fetched but quite untrue. These inscriptions signify nothing more than the fact that the region around them was once under the power of the Kṣaharāṭa king, Nahapāṇ.

Let us now turn to Madhyamikā and Ujjaini, and consider their claims to having been the seats of Nahapāṇ's capital. As regards Madhyamikā, scholars have so far failed to locate its situation. It has also been stated to have been one of the four or five probable places which Bhūmak had fixed up as the seat of his capital. (Pp. 139 and further). If we accept that Madhyamikā was chosen by Bhūmak as the seat of his capital, it logically follows that Nahapāṇ, when he ascended the throne after him, had it as his capital. It may have continued to enjoy that position

(36) J. B. B. R. A. S. New edition, 1928, vol. III, pp. 64.

as long as Nahapāṇ was a Mahākṣatrap. Within a short time, however, Nahapāṇ invaded Avantī—to conquer which, was the highest ambition of every Indian king at that time,—conquered it and annexed it to his own kingdom. Naturally, he shifted the seat of his capital to Ujjaini or to Vidiśā—the two most important and prosperous cities of Avantī. He had then no necessity to cling to a comparatively unimportant city like Madhyamikā, and he was not so conservative and stupid as to believe in the theory of " Old is gold " in matters like this—matters of first-rate political importance. Not only did he change the seat of his capital to Ujjaini, but he got his coronation ceremony performed there, and then assumed the title " King "—the most venerated and the most cherished title of Indians. In commemoration of this achievement he got his coins minted, with the title " King " on them[37]. (Vol. II. pp. 90 and Coin plate no. 2; print no. 37). This took place in the 46th year of the Kṣaharāṭa era or in B. C. 114=A. M. 413. This evidently means that those of his coins bearing "Kṣatrap" were minted before this date[38]. Coins bearing " Mahākṣatrap " must have been minted after his coming to the throne in 45th year of the Kṣaharāṭa era, and before his conquest of Avantī in the 46th year of the same era. All his coins bearing " King Nahapāṇ " were minted after 46th year of the Kṣaharāṭa era. So coins bearing " Mahākṣatrap " must have been very few in number, being minted in the brief interval between 45 and 46, probably

(37) Coins of Nahapāṇ, bearing the title "King" are of two kinds. (Vol. II, chap. on coins, plate no. 2, fig. 37). On the reverse side of one kind of coins, we find signs similar to the signs on the coins of Bhūmak. On the reverse side of the second kind, we find the Ujjain-symbol. (Plate no. 5, fig. 75) and on the obverse side Gautamīputra has got his own portrait-head printed upon that of Nahapāṇ. This leads us to the conclusion that the first kind was earlier than the second one. The former were minted immediately after Nahapāṇ's conquest over Avantī, and the latter after making Ujjaini, the seat of his capital.

(38) C. A. R. Introduction, pp. 59. Rock-inscription, no. 35:—"On the coins, the title Kṣatrap or Mahākṣatrap does not occur. Unlike Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ is always called "Rājā." See f. n. nos. 39 and 40 below.

four to eight months[39]. Or after assuming the title "King," he must have stopped their currency, collected them and then must have got them melted[40]. He ruled for no less than forty years. Hence coins bearing "King Nahapāṇ" are found in large numbers.

No further proofs are needed to support the fact that Nahapāṇ had conquered Avantī and had seat of his capital Ujjaini[41]. His coins bearing "King Nahapāṇ" are of two kinds. (For differences between the two, read f. n. no. 37). Both kinds of coins have "King Nahapāṇ" on the obverse. In one kind of coins we find what the coin experts call "Ujjain Symbol"[42]. This definitely proves that he was the king of Avantī and that either Ujjaini[43] or Vidiśā was the seat of his capital.

One peculiarity of Nahapāṇ's coins deserves special notice here. Upto his time no Indian king, be he the emperor of Magadh, or of Ujjaini, or of Kaliṅg—had got his portrait-head embossed on the coins. So he was the first king of Avantī to do that. Of

(39) C. A. R. Introduction, 59, rock-inscription no. 35:—"The family designation Kṣaharāṭa is omitted; and this is the only occurrence of the title of Mahākṣatrap as applied to Nahapāṇ." (The word "Only" in the extract given above, shows that such coins are found very rarely. Or, it may interpreted that all coins bearing "Mahākṣatrap" were minted within the same year—45 to 46, because six to eight months after his coming to the throne, he conquered Avantī and became its ruler. In short, he ascended the throne in the last quarter of the year 45, remained a Mahākṣatrap for next eight months or so, and then assumed the title "King" in the second quarter of the year 46. Cf. f. n. no. 38 above, and f. n. no. 40 below).

(40) C. A. R. pp. 65, f. n. no. 1; the words given on pp. 59 of the Introduction, are reprinted there. (See f. n. nos. 38 and 39). Again it is stated in para 88; "Nahapāṇ bears the title "Rājā" together with his family name Kṣaharāṭ, but in none of them is he styled Kṣatrap or Mahākṣatrap." (Cf. f. n. nos. 37 and 38). It will now be clear, why coins bearing "Mahākṣatrap" are very few.

(41) Read f. n. no. 43 below.

(42) Vol. II, Coin no. 75 and details about it.

(43) C. A. R. Introduction, pp. 103, f. n. no. 1:—"It may be observed that there is the record of certain benefactions of Ṛṣabhadatta at Ujjain, which must therefore presumably have been included in Nahapāṇ's dominions."

course all foreigners had this custom among them. This also indicates that the Kṣaharāṭs were not pure Āryans. Or, if they were one of the races that inhabited some part of Jambūdwīp, they were influenced by the Yavans[44] or by some races of Śākadwīp[45].

Ṛṣabhadatta, his son-in-law, played a prominent part in all the activities of Nahapāṇ—social as well as political. We do not know whether Nahapāṇ took the initiative and Ṛṣbhadatta helped him and put his plans into practice, or whether Ṛṣabhadatta was the more original of the two and made suggestions to Nahapāṇ, which the latter adopted and agreed to. Nahapāṇ, however was the older and the more experienced of the two, and by no means pig-headed. So, it would be reasonable to credit Nahapāṇ with having taken the lead in matters political and social. Ṛṣabhadatta, we might style as his faithful friend and follower. Even then, as the reader shall see, Ṛṣabhadatta will figure prominently in this account.

His efforts to make his subjects prosperous and happy

We have here also occasions to differ from the opinions of many scholars. So, we shall start with stating their opinions first, and then state our own conclusions. One writer[46] has concisely given us an idea of Nahapāṇ's reign in a sentence, quoted below:—" His reign was in all probability a long and prosperous one. " He further states, in elucidation of his brief statement, " Trade with western countries thrived during his reign; his benefactions were between Brahmins[47] and Buddhists[48]; ferries, rest-

(44–45) Yavans=Greeks; ahd Śakadwīpa races mean Bactrians or Yons. We know that the Kṣaharāṭs had come into close contact with the Yavans and the Yons. We know this from the accounts of Demetrius and Menanḍer. If we think of these things collectively, we shall see that the facts stated above are not without foundation.

(46) J. B. B. R. A. S. New edition, vol. III, 1928, pp. 64.

(47) In the same way, about Bindusār also, historians have said that he provided Brāhmaṇs with meals. That the thing is quite untrue has been clearly shown in vol. II (vide II, pp. 209, and f. n. no. 69). The act of providing Baṁbhaṇs with meals goes to the credit of Priyadarśin. (Vide his

houses, places for drinking water and public halls are some of the comforts that he bestowed on his subjects. But what rebounds mostly to his credit is his revival of Nigamsabha "[49]. Another writer has extolled Ṛṣabhadatta in the same glowing terms. We have already stated above that Ṛṣabhadatta's actions were primarily inspired by Nahapāṇ. So, what is stated about the former may as well be taken as a tribute to the latter. So, we quote below the passage praising Ṛṣabhadatta[50]:—" Uśavadātta looked to the comfort of travellers. Quadrangular rest-houses were erected at various places. Wells were dug upon the way, stands for free distribution of water were raised in many places[51] and ferry-boats were provided to cross some of the rivers.[52] Whatever the condition of the four varṇas in ancient times, howsoever strict the restrictions about connubium and commensality[53], during the

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account); but for real meanings of the words Brāhmaṇ, Bāṁbhaṇ & Mā–haṇ please refer to the matter at the end of chap. V, That follows hereafter. Nahapāṇ adopted many of the ways of that illustrious emperor. Cf. further facts about charity deeds stated in the paragraph above.

(48) In the history of ancient India, historians have always referred to two religions only : Brahmanism and Buddhism. We have shown in vol. I and vol. II, that three religions existed in ancient India, and not two. The third religion was Jainism, which seems to have been ignored by most scholars of ancient Indian history. The Jains themselves deserve the blame for this. They tried to conceal their literature from the rest of the world. Hence its existence, importance and influence in India of those times, could not be gauged by scholars, in spite of all their sincere efforts to reproduce ancient India in its true colours. History would have been put on a different colour, had Jaina literature been known to these scholars.

(49) See the rock–inscriptions of Priyadarśin and the life of Śreṇik.

(50) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1927, vol. III, part 2.

(51) Cf. details given in the rock–inscriptions of Priyadarśin. Nahapāṇ followed Priyadarśin in most things. Read the paragraph above.

(52) Rivers in those times had plenty of water. (Vol. I, pp. 16, f. n. no. 20). Dry river–bed was a sight, unknown to ancient Indians.

(53) Castes and subcastes were there in those times. Further divisions must have been made during the rule of the Śungas, who followed the Vedic religion. During the rule of Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ, caste–consciousness must have faded. It was the result of the faith which they followed. They followed

early part, at any rate there was undoubtedly amalgamation among them during the time of the foreign kṣatraps." Mr. Majmudar, in his "Corporate Life" Pp. 376, states:—"There were many castes and subcastes[54]; distinct groups must have existed from the earlier period and these ultimately developed in classes and castes.[55]" We have quoted above, extracts from different writers, upon the subject of the condition of the people during the rule of the Kṣaharāṭs. We shall now state our own opinion. Though Bhūmak had risen to "Mahākṣatrapī", yet we find that his coins bear only "Kṣatrap" on them, and his rock-inscriptions do not even mention his name. Similarly, though Nahapāṇ had become a "King," yet we find "Kṣatrap" and "Mahākṣatrap" on some of his coins and in most of his rock-inscriptions we find the humble title "Kṣatrap" before his name. There is only one rock-inscription containing the title "King" before his name. All these rock-inscriptions contain the name of his son-in-law, Ṛṣabhadatta, as his chief helper and co-worker. Taken together, these facts mean that both Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ, when they ascended the throne, were past fifty, and hence were little interested in secular affairs like territorial expansion. Both wanted to reign in peace and make their subjects happy and prosperous. But during Bhūmak's time, his son, Nahapāṇ was in the prime of his youth and hence, though Bhūmak himself was little interested in conquests, Nahapāṇ invaded territory after territory and conquered and annexed them to the kingdom of his father. In the same manner, when Nahapāṇ came to the throne, he had a young and vigorous ally in his son-in-law Ṛṣabhadatta. Hence, under Nahapāṇ's directions, he expanded the territorial extent of the Kṣaharāṭs further and further. Thus he played the same role under Nahapāṇ, as the latter had under Bhūmak.

We know that emperor Priyadarśin had divided his vast empire into provinces, and had appointed governors over every

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Jainism, and Jainism recognizes no caste-distinctions whatsoever. It admits into its fold all kinds of people, high and low. It is a universal faith.

(54) Cf. f. n. no. 53 above.

(55) Cf. vol. I, pp. 315, and seq.

one of them. One of the provinces was Aparānt. The seat of its capital was Sopārā. (Vol. II, pp. 321). He had got a rock-inscription erected there. That was erected there, in commemoration of the death there, of a member of the royal family. The member in question may have died a natural death. It has however, not been definitely found out that any relative of Priyadarśin died there while fighting in a battle. So, we come to the conclusion that the rock-inscription must have been erected there, in commemoration of the death of the governor of the province, who must have been a relative of the emperor. The fact that Priyadarśin had appointed a member of the royal family as the governor of the province, clearly indicates that he must have thought it to be an important part[56] of the empire. The same was the case with another province on the western borders of south India. The name of that province was Keralputta. Another member of the royal family was appointed as governor there. The three rock-inscriptions erected there, are also an eloquent testimony to this. The eastern coast of south India was considered no less important by the emperor. Over the province, which we now know by the name Coromānḍal coast, Priyadarśin had appointed equally trustworthy governors. They were not actually the members of the royal family. They were chiefs of the Cholā dynasty of the Pallava branch,—in the north—and chiefs of the Pāṇḍya dynasty, in the south. We have stated in Vol. I. pp. 295 and pp. 347 and in Vol. II, pp. 320-1 f. nos. 23-24-25, that both the Cholās and Pāṇḍyas belonged to the Licchavi branch of the Kṣatriyas. Among them, the Pallavas were a branch of the Mauryas. That means that these chiefs were also relatives of Priyadarśin in a way. They all belonged to the same stock. Hence, Priyadarśin has styled these chiefs as governors of "Border-lands" in his inscriptions. In short, the whole of the coastal area of south India was under his power. These chiefs were not exactly the vassals of the emperor; none the less they acknowledged

A review of certain historical facts

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(56) Vol. II, pp. 315 to 322; specially 322.

the political and economic hegemony of the emperor. Coins found out from these regions amply support this contention. In them, we find a ship with two sails[57] on one side and the "Elephant" on the other side:—"Elephant" was the sign of Priyadarśin. So, both the eastern and the western coasts of south India were under the control of the emperor, directly or indirectly.[58] So, the trade and commerce of India had extended upto Arabia, Africa, Egypt, Greece[59], Sumātrā, Jāvā and many other countries. India was very prosperous, because as the old adage says "trade and commerce signify prosperity"[60]. The Kṣaharāṭa king, Nahapāṇ had a keen desire to follow the footsteps of this worthy emperor. So, he also tried his best to bring all this coastal area under his power.[61] Hence battles were frequently fought in places like Nāsik, Kārle, Sopārā, and Junner. When he came to the throne, he had inherited from his father, the fertile region around the Narmadā and the Tāptī—Broach and Surat districts,—and the region around the sources of the Sābarmatī and the Mahī. Thus, he had under his power the port of Broach and the gulf of Cambay[62]. Then he tried to bring under his power the strip of Konkan in the south—i. e. the province of Aparant. But during the weak rule of the Śunga kings, the whole of southern India including the coastline, was conquered by the Āndhra kings. Nahapāṇ must

(57) Vol. II, pp. 118. Coin no. 81; f. n. no. 58 below.

(58) Some parts were not under the direct rule of Priyadarśin. For instance the Śātakarṇī, Āndhra king was his brother-in-law, whom he could influence. (Vol. II, pp. 263, f. n. nos. 41 and 43; vol. II, pp. 275 with various foot-notes).

(59) This statement refers to five foreign rulers who were contemporaries of Priyadarśin.

(60) All the western nations follow this maxim and so are prosperous and powerful.

(61) Cf. the extract from Mr. Vincent Smith, pp. 111, in the account of Menander.

(62) This proves that Indians understood the value of the ports and of foreign trade, right from the third century B. C. i. e. from the time of Priyadarśin. Even during the time of Śreṇik people appreciated the importance of the same.

have keenly felt the necessity of conquering the coastal area from the Āndhra king. He was gifted with a keen political foresight. So frequent invasions were led upon these parts. Even before he he came to the throne, he had often marched into these parts and established his power there[63]. He had since then begun to wrest these parts, piece by piece, from the power of the Āndhra king. As marks of his victory, he got rock-inscriptions erected there, and in order to placate and win the good opinions of the people living in those parts, he gave large sums of money in charity and in commemoration of them got deeds of charity inscribed on copper plates.[64] One of them contains the name of his valiant son-in-law, Ṛṣabhadatta, of his daughter Dakṣamitrā[65], and of his prime-minister, Ayama.[66] The sending of three persons of first-class importance[67] to these parts is an index to their political importance as deemed by Nahapāṇ. He wanted to root out for good the power of the Āndhras over these parts, and so had forced the Āndhra king to shift the seat of his capital far back in the interior.[68] We know how this disgrace was wiped

(63) Our western rulers also selected the harbour near Sopārā–Bombay for trade purposes. The value of this coast was fully understood by kings in those times.

(64) To win the love of the people is the aim of every king, worth the name.

(65) The fact that prominence was given to his daughter and to her husband, means that Nahapāṇ had no son. So, Ṛṣabhadatta did everything and enjoyed the position that an heir-apparent might have done and enjoyed. (Cf. f. n. no. 67 below).

(66) This will make it clear that number placed with the name of "Ayama" is not 76 but 46, the year in which began the rule of Nahapāṇ as a "King". Read the paragraph "Forty-six or Seventy-six" above.

(67) Even the prime-minister was sent with the army! So, his desire to conquer these parts was very keen. He fully realized the significance of his mastery over them; it is also found that this region had a religious significance. (Vide chap. XI of this part VI).

(68) It was shifted to a far-off place named 'Warañgul'. It is probable that Warañgul was the seat of the capital of some former Āndhra kings also. (Vol. I, pp. 155). So, this time also the king shifted his head-quarters to this place.

out and bitter vengeance wreaked by Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, after nearly two hundred years. The rock-inscription by Queen Balaśree, the mother of Gautamiputra Śātakaraṇi is a clear testimony to this fact.

The long and short of the matter is, that both Priyadarśin and Nahapāṇ, being foresighted rulers, understood and valued the significance of their mastery over the sea-coast. Both tried incessantly to bring the coastal area under their control. Nahapāṇ did not undervalue the use of rivers, in exchange of commodities from one part of the country to another.[69] So, he had got ferri-boats ready at numerous places on rivers, in order to facilitate the intercourse of people and the transport of goods from one place to another. Both Priyadarśin and Nahapāṇ had realized that the prosperity and happiness of people depended upon the development of trade and commerce with foreign countries, and they had spared no pains to increase the volume of foreign trade. As a result of this, their subjects were happy and prosperous, and the reigns of both have become famous in history as glorious and praiseworthy[70]. (c. f. pp. 111 the extract from E. H. I. with its f. n. no. 44; f. nos. 61, 62, 63 in this chapter).

Why is his account included in the account of the Kṣatraps, eventhough he was a ruler of Avanti?

Nahapāṇ was a ruler of Avantī. He had adopted a Hindu name "Narvāhan" or "Nabhovāhan" and had adopted the most cherished title of the Hindus—"Rājā". So, some readers might argue that Nahapāṇ's account must have been given in a separate chapter, and not together with the account of other Kṣatraps. In reply to this, we might state that there are several reasons for not doing so. In the first place, he has been styled Kṣatrap in most of his rock-inscriptions. To avoid all misunderstanding and confusion in the minds of the readers, it has been thought better to give his account along with the account of his father and other kṣatraps. Again, in his dynasty,

(69) Cf. their modern condition. Surat, Broach, Cambay, Kāvi, Dholérā—all these ports are in ruins at present. Why?

(70) Read the paragraph above, describing the prosperous condition of the people.

it was only he, who had become the ruler of Avantī. So, it would be meaningless to devote a separate chapter to the account of a dynasty which began and ended with the rule of one person only, as far as Avantī was concerned. Due to all these reasons, his account has been given here.

Some one might ask, "What about Ṛṣabhadatta?" Did he not succeed Nahapāṇ? He has been described as doing all the functions of an heir-apparent, on pp. 162, f. n. 65. In reply to this, we might state that:—(1) Ṛṣabhadatta never ascended the throne of Avantī. (2) He was succeeded by eight to ten of his descendants, * one after the other. Of course, we know little about them. Yet we have reasons to believe that their rule lasted from B. C. 74 to A. D. 78 = 152 years. (3) Scholars have called them the "Śāhī kings of Saurāṣṭra." This means that they are not to be taken in the same line in which Nahapāṇ was. So, Ṛṣabhadatta's account has been given in a separate chapter. For these reasons, Nahapāṇ's account has not been given in a separate chapter, while Ṛṣabhadatta's account has been given in a separate chapter, because he was the founder of a different dynasty.

Relation between Nahapān and Chaṣṭhan

Many foreigners have ruled over parts of India. Several of them held the title Kṣatraps. Of all such Kṣatraps, two have become more famous than others. They were, Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhan. Their reigns were of a long duration, prosperous and happy. Both gradually rose from Kṣatrapī to Mahākṣatrapī, and from Mahākṣatrapī to Kingship[71]. Thus there is much resemblance between them.[72] Hence scholars have come to the conclusion that they belonged to the same race, or to different families of the same race. Details about Nahapāṇ have been given in the fore-going pages. The account of Chaṣṭhaṇ is to be given

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* This statement requires correction on further study (see his account).

(71) See their coins. (Vol. II, nos. 37 and 42). Read f. n. no. 14 above.

(72) Moreover, the religions which they followed were almost similar, with the exception of slight differences here and there. No clear and reliable evidence on the point is available. Scholars have always paid little attention to the faith that kings followed, with one or two exceptions.

later on. So, the differences between the two will be known to the reader when he reads the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ and compares it with that of Nahapāṇ. We shall touch here upon one important point only.

All the coins of Nahapāṇ bear the word "Kṣaharāṭ"[73]. The coins of Chaṣṭhaṇ, on the other hand, do not have any distinctive sign of this type. Hence the difficulty. A detailed discussion on this point will be given in his account. Scholars have tried to solve the difficulty, by saying that Kṣharāṭ was a family name[74], and that it was one of the many families of the Śaka race that invaded India[75]. Of all invades of Avantī and of the provinces around it, the Śakas, subsequently called the Indo-Scythians, are the most well-known. So, they have concluded that Nahapāṇ was a Śaka, because he had also become the ruler of Avantī. Similarly, nothing definite is known about Chaṣṭhaṇ; no attempt even, has so far been made to find out any details about him. So, he has also been fixed up as a Śaka by the scholars. They were led to this conclusion by the close resemblance between Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ. In short, scholars have fixed them as belonging to the Indo-Scythian race, because there was nothing else to fall back upon; and the word Kṣaharāṭ was fixed up as a family name in order to make things go smoothly[76].

In the following paragraphs, we have made an attempt to glean truth from various data presented to us, and to examine the pros and cons of the theory stated above. In order to avoid unnecessary delay and discussion, we shall first state our own opinion and then quote authorities in support of this. The opinion held by us is, that neither Nahapāṇ nor Chaṣṭhaṇ was a Śaka. They belonged to different races and had no family or blood relationship between them. Now below are given some pieces of evidence in support of this:—

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(73) Vol. II, Coin no. 37.

(74) Vide pp. 133 in the account of Bhūmak.

(75) He has stated that the Pārthians, the Bactrians, the Pahlavas and the Śakas were foreigners. The first three ruled over the Punjāb, Pāñchāl and at the most over Sūrsen. Only the Śakas entered Central India.

(76) Cf. f. n. no. 74 above and f. n. no. 78 below.

(1) It is stated in the Nāsik rock-inscription of Queen Balaśree, the mother of Gautamīputra[77]:—"Gautamīputra destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas etc. and rooted out the Kṣaharāṭs[78]." This makes it perfectly clear that the Kṣaharāṭs are a separate race like the Scythians, the Greeks, the Bactrians, the Persians and Pārthians. As Nahapāṇ's coins distinctly calls him a Kṣaharāṭ, he can in no sense be called a Śaka. Another deduction from the inscription is that " the Śakas, the Yavans and the Pahlavas were only "killed"—i. e. those of them, who fought in the battle, lost their lives,—but their whole races were not exterminated. In the case of the Kṣaharāṭs, on the other hand, the rock-inscription clearly states that they were "rooted out," i. e. the whole race was destroyed to a man. This proves that after this achievement by Gautamīputra, no Kṣaharāṭ was alive. We shall prove in the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ that his time is after the time of Gautamīputra. So, Chaṣṭhaṇ could never have been a Kṣaharāṭ. Chaṣṭhaṇ and Nahapāṇ belonged to distinctly separate races.

(2) Mr. Thomas[79] says:—" It seems certain, that the name Nahapāṇ is Persian and that of Ghasmika, the father of Chaṣṭhaṇ is scythic ". In spite of mistakes about Nahapāṇ's race, Mr. Thomas clearly states that Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ did not belong to the same race.

(3) Mr. Rapson[80] states:—" Western Kṣatraps (meaning Chaṣṭhaṇ family) were first called the Śāh (meaning Śāhī) dynasty—a wrong reading of the "Siṅha or Sen" which forms the second part of so many of these names." He says that many names of the rulers of Chaṣṭhaṇ dynasty end in "Siṅha or Sen,"

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(77) C. A. R. Introduction, pp. 36, paragraph 44; for the extract vide pp. 150 and 151 above.

(78) The names, Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Kṣaharāṭs are always mentioned together. The first three are accepted to have been names of races. Hence, the fourth also was the name of a race. Is it not erroneous to take it as the name of a family ? (Cf. f. n. nos. 75 and 77 above).

(79) J. R. A. S. 1906, pp. 221.

(80) C. A. R. Introduction, pp. 103 and f. n. there.

and the word "Śāh" is mistakenly read there. So, this dynasty was called the "Śāh" dynasty by mistake. Further research has made it clear, that to call the dynasty the " Śāh" dynasty is incorrect[81]. In the account of Ṛṣabhadatta, to be given later on, we shall show that his dynasty—the one founded by him—was called by the name "Śāhī" dynasty[82]. But Chaṣṭhaṇ's dynasty was never called "Śāhī".

(4) Prof. Oldenberg[83] says:—"Kṣatrap inscriptions at Junāgaḍh and Jasdaṇ contain no similar titles, Śāhī, Śahenśāhī, Śaka or Devaputta, which are found several times connected with those in the legend." This means that these titles do not belong to the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty, while they are frequently applied to Nahapāṇ and to Ṛṣabhadatta[84]. So, they—Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ--belonged to different races.

(5) Mr. Rapson[85], in his account of the coins of Nahapāṇ says:—"Arrow, Discus and Thunderbolt, which may therefore be supposed to be the device of the dynasty[86]...Bhūmak's distinctive type was "Lion-capital" and "Dharma-Chakra[87]." In the account of the coins of Chaṣṭhaṇ, the same author says that the signs on them are " Star & Moon[88]." So, their coins are also quite

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(81) His dynasty never bore the name "Śāhī" or Śāh." Details will be given in his account, later on.

(82) We are here concerned with Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ, and no mention need be made of Ṛsabhadatta. Nahapāṇ and Ṛsabhadatta belonged to different races, inspite of the fact that the latter was the son-in-law of the former. The thing has been mentioned here with a view to indicate that Ṛsabhadatta, Nahapāṇ, Bhūmak and others had at least some relation with the Persian (Śāhī) Empire. (Argument no. 4 below); while Chaṣṭhaṇ had no such relation with it.

(83) I. A. vol. X, pp. 223: the column on the left.

(84) Cf. f. n. no. 82 above.

(85) C. A. R. Introduction, pp. 169, paragraph 141.

(86) See his coin, vol. II, no. 37.

(87) See his coin, vol. II, nos. 35-36. For the meanings of the signs, vide vol. II. pp. 46 & seq.

(88) See his coin, vol. II, no. 42; In this connection Mr. Rapson has stated (C. A. R. Introduction, pp. 113, paragraph 92). "This 'Sun and Moon' shows Pārthian origin."

different, clearly proving that they did not belong to the same race. Mr. Vincent Smith[89], in his disccussion on the coins of Nahapāṇ, argues with the opinion of Mr. Rapson and says:—"The coinage of Chaṣṭhaṇ and his successors is quite different (from that of Nahapāṇ, Hagām and Hagāmāś)". This also makes it clear, that Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ belonged to separate races.

(6) The words in the coins of Nahapāṇ are of the Kharoṣṭhī language; the words on the coins of Chaṣṭhaṇ have a different language.

(7) Chaṣṭhaṇ continued to call himself "Mahākṣatrap" even after he became the ruler of Avantī, Nahapāṇ, as we know, assumed the title "King" immediately after his conquest of Avantī[90]. Thus, Nahapāṇ had more Āryan blood in his veins than Chaṣṭhaṇ.

(8) A writer[91] says:—"The word "Swāmī" is prefixed to all the names of the kings of the Kṣatrapa (he means Chaṣṭhaṇ) dynasty[92]. Probably this meant that they were independent kings[93]. No such word is found before the names of Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatraps (Nahapāṇ), or before the names of the Śaka kings, (Rājuvul and others) of Mathurā[94]." The extract makes it distinctly clear that

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[Note : This is incorrect. For this, read the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ later on].

(89) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 227.

(90) Vol. II, Coin no. 42; in it the word "Rājno" is prefixed to the name of Chaṣṭhaṇ's father. Cf. f. n. no. 71.

(91) "Buddhiprakāś" vol. 80, No. 1. pp. 55. The name of the writer is Dhanprasād Chandulāl Munśī.

(92) As far as I know, the first several kings had not assumed this title. We need not enter into details here. Cf. f. n. no. 14 above.

(93) I cannot say whether the word "Swāmī" denotes independence on the part of the ruler who assumed it. It is certain, however, that the title was inferior to "Mahākṣatrap." Details are given later on in the account of Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty.

(94) It is not made clear by him, why he has stated that the Kṣatraps of Mathurā belonged to the Śaka tace.

[Note : Most of the historians have never tried to distinguish between, and find out the differences of, various foreigners like the Śakas, the Kṣaharāṭs, the Yavans, the Yonas and others. Read ch. I in part VI of this volume. Hence find that errors have imperceptibly crept into Ancient Indian History.]

Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ belonged to different races. (We need not discuss here whether the Kṣatraps of Mathurā belonged to a race different from that of Nahapāṇ or not.

(9) For more pieces of evidence in favour of Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ belonging to different dynasties, the reader is referred to the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ and Kuśānas, later on.

After the death of Nahapāṇ, the throne of Avantī was seized by another dynasty. So, the account of the Kṣaharāṭa kṣatraps ruling over central India, ends here. Next, we have to give an account of the Kṣaharāṭa kṣatraps ruling over Mathurā and Takṣilā. One or two points connected with the Kaṇva ministers deserve notice here. One of the points is connected with Nahapāṇ; while the other is raised entirely by us. This other point is given here for the scrutiny of the scholars, and it may be proved to be entirely incorrect. New theories in history are always discarded as imaginary and groundless, but that should not deter a true student of history from presenting one more and from appealing to all to make a dispassionate study of the same. So these two points are stated below.

The relation with the Kaṇvas

On the authority of Hāthigumfā inscription, it has been accepted as true that Khārvel, Śrimukh and Bṛhaspatimitra were three contemporary kings ruling over different provinces. Bṛhaspatimitra has been stated to have been the king of Magadh. As no king of the name has been found out on historical basis, it was believed by scholars that Bṛhaspatimitra was but another name of Puṣyamitra Śunga, because the word "Bṛhaspati" means "Constellation of Puṣya." So, Puṣyamitra, Khārvel and Śrimukh were contemporaries, according to these scholars. Further, it has been stated by them, that the last king—Devbhūti—in the line of Puṣyamitra was killed by the first Kaṇva prime minister, Vāsudev by name. Some are of the opinion that he was killed by the last Kaṇva prime-minister, Suśarman by name. Then this Kaṇva minister was killed by Śrimukh, who thus became the master of Avantī. The errors in the statements made above, have been shown in Vol. I. Pp. 151 & seq. in the account of Dhankaṭak

province. More details, proving the whole theory to be a tissue of lies, have been given in the account of Puṣyamitra. Details concerning Śrimukh and Khārvel, will be given in their accounts. According to my opinion, the Kaṇva ministry is connected with the later Śunga kings. Scholars widely differ on this point. I have fixed their period according to my information and researches, and I have given solid pieces of evidence in support of it. Below are given some more proofs in favour of my theory.

We are here concerned with the account of Nahapāṇ. His name does not seem to have been connected with the problem stated above. One thing, however, connects his name with the problem of the time of the Kaṇvas. It has been stated that the Kaṇva ministry lasted for 42 to 45 years. On the other hand, it is stated that the rule of the weak Śunga kings lasted for 28 years. The immediately preceding king, Bhānumitra, ruled for fifteen years. Thus 28+15 would make a total of 43. Other scholars believe that the Kaṇva ministry remained in power for not less than 45 years. But this would mean that the Kaṇva ministers wielded power, even during the first two or three years of Nahapāṇ's rule. The Nāsik rock-inscription tells us, that in the very first year of Nahapāṇ's rule, his prime minister was Ayama. This clearly proves that the Kaṇva ministry's rule did not last for 45 years. A group of scholars is of the opinion that it was not Suśarman, the last Kaṇva minister, who killed Devbhūti, the last Śunga king. They say that Devbhūti was killed by Vāsudev, the first Kaṇva minister. This will mean that the Kaṇvas—whose rule lasted for 42 years-were the ministers during all the forty years of Nahapāṇ's rule. This is also quite incorrect, as it is clearly proved by the Nāsik inscription. So, the Kaṇva rule did not last for 45 years; and neither did the first Kaṇva minister kill the last Śunga king. These two theories are nothing more than flights of fancy.

We may also mention one point here, though it has no direct historical bearing upon the Kaṇva ministry. The Vedic people believe that the sage Kaṇva, who had adopted Śakuntalā as his daughter, and who later on gave her in marriage to Duṣyant, was the first person in the line of the Kaṇvas. That may or may not be a fact. At this juncture, the author's mind

also, goes back to the remote past. We know that, Nand IX had brought with him the learned trio of Pāṇini, Chāṇakya and Vararūchi, when he returned home after his conquest of the Punjab. Pāṇini made his name famous and long-lasting, as a grammarian of the first order, Chāṇakya made his dèbut in politics, and the world will always remember him gratefully and admiringly as the author of a marvellous treatise "Arthaśāstra" and as a great statesman. The third member of the trio was not so fortunate. He directed his efforts towards snatching prime-ministership of Magadh from Śakaḍāl, the Jaina prime-minister. His efforts ended in a miserable failure, and his name was lost in the oblivion. We know that the time of Nand IX was B. C. 400. The time of the Kaṇva ministers was B. C. 156 to 114-as we have proved in the foregoing pages. So, there is an interval of 250 years between the time of Vararūchi and that of the Kaṇva ministers. The name of Varaūchi's family was Kātyāyan. Is it possible that his descendants were called "Kāṇvāyans" ?[95]—i. e. the Kaṇva ministers ?[96]. The change from Kātyāyan to Kāṇvāyan may have been due to a scribe's error.

Another problem to be decided was whether the Kaṇvas were connected with Dhankaṭak or with Avantī. If we accept that they were connected with Dhankaṭak, their time will have to be fixed as B. C. 473 to 430 or thereabout. (Vol. I. Pp. 151 and further). We have seen that the time of Vararūchi was 400 B. C. So, presuming that the Kaṇvas ware the descendants of Vararūchi, we can say that they had no connection with Dhankaṭak. They were connected with Avantī.

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(95) Below are given the reasons why "Kāṇvāyan" must have been a deteriorated form of "Kātyāyan". In the first place, it may have been a scribe's error. The Kaṇva ministers probably did not know anything about Vararūchi. So they may have changed their family name in order to show themselves to have been connected with the ancient Kaṇva family. Kaṇvāyan may have been fixed up by them as a compromise between Kātyāyan and Kaṇva.

(96) The fact that Vararūchi tried to wrest prime-ministership from Śakaḍāl, lends much support to this view. Hereditary traits have been found to have persisted through a long line of generations. So, the unfulfilled ambition of Vararūchi may have been amply realized by his descendants, two hundred years after him.

We have already given accounts of various kings, ministers and other notable persons. We have also given all available details about Pāṇini, Chāṇakya and Vararūchi. Even here, we feel attracted towards the learned trio, because, as the well-known adage says, of kings, ministers and learned men, the first two are worshipped in their own countries, but the third are worshipped everywhere. Again, many important details about these three persons have yet to be found out and made known to the public. So, the more we try to know things about them, the greater the service we render to them as well as to the general public. We shall here restrict ourselves to things historical.

Another point

Of the three learned men, Pāṇini was a great grammarian, and Chāṇakya was a great statesman and politician. Details, hitherto unknown, have been given about them by me in the accounts. Some ideas about the third are given in the preceding paragraphs. I have raised the point—is it not possible that Kaṇva ministers may be the direct descendants of Vararūchi ? I have raised some more points.

Before coming down to facts, a word of warning and advice to readers—particularly to readers of the sensitive and prejudicial type-may be given. Whenever a new point of view is presented, it is the duty of all sane readers to judge and to impartially approach it with an unprejudiced mind, and thus to find out truth. This appeal is made to those readers who have a desire to judge things and to come to conclusions according to the dictates of reason, and who do not want to be led away by prejudices and feelings, simply because the author has presented a point of view which is not agreeable to their tastes, or which jars upon their ideas of particular things. All the three learned men, for instance, were Brahmins by birth. Readers are prone to come to a hasty conclusion that, because they were born of Brahmin parents, they professed the Vedic religion[97]. They would think, that just as

(97) Religion and civilization are different terms with different connotations. Classification of society for different economic and social functions had no connection with religions in those times. For details, the reader is referred to chapters given further on.

almost all the Brahmins at present are followers of the Vedic religion, so must have been the order of things in the past-and to a greater degree. When some one comes out and tells them that a person who was a Brahmin by birth, professed some other faith than Brahminism, they at once denounce it as a lie or as a mere flight of fancy of a perverse-minded man. The criticisms hurled against the novel things presented in the first two volumes of this book, have led me to this conclusion. They are an orgy of denunciations based on narrow and blind prejudices and reflect nothing but the narrow-mindedness of the critics. It may be clearly stated here, that the division of society into four classes in those times had no connection with religions—the three that existed at that time-namely, Brahminism, Jainism and Buddhism. Any person belonging to any class could profess any of the three faiths. We see that Brahminism had within its fold members of all the four classes[98]; so had Jainism and Buddhism. When I stated that Chāṇakya, a Brahmin by birth, was a staunch follower of Jainism, some people were taken aback at what they considered to be an atrocity. They alleged that I wanted to fix up the whole trio for Jainism. While as a matter of fact, I have not done so, and never wanted to do anything of the sort. Why, in the name of anything sacred, should I ? Historical pieces of evidence have told me that Chāṇakya was a Jain; while I have not yet come to definite conclusions about the religion of Pāṇini; and I have clearly stated that Vararūchi was a follower of the Vedic religion. I have tried to show the relation between him and the Kaṇvas on that point.

Vararūchi was a dire antagonist of Śakaḍāl, the Jaina prime-minister of Nand IX. The Kaṇva ministers of the Śungas were also enemies of Jainism. Patanjali, the royal preceptor of Agnimitra, was also a devout follower of Brahminism, and a deadly enemy of Jainism. Vararūchi's ambition in life was to become the prime-minister. Patanjali wielded more power than a prime-minister could have; and the Kaṇva ministers were all-in-all during their prime-ministership period of 45 years. So, the common thread running through the minds of all these persons was that of being

(98) Vol. II. pp. 30 and pp. 189.

able to enjoy prime-ministership[99]. Their mentality was moulded the same way throughout. Now Vararūchi was a member of the Kātyāyana family. The Kaṇva ministers also probably belonged to the same family—assuming that "Kāṇvāyan" must have been a deteriorated form of " Kātyāyan ", probably due to a scribe's error. Was then, Patanjali the member of the same family ? The suggestion admits of a probability. On this point, I consulted Mr. G. H. Bhatt, Professor of Sanskrit, Baroda College, Baroda. His reply is given below:—

" Patanjali had two names:—(1) Gonardīy[100] (from Gonard, the name of his province); (2) Goṇikāputra (from the name of his mother). Some scholars are of the opinion that these two names[101] do not belong to Patanjali; they belong to two former grammarians.

Kātyāyan[102] was a predecessor of Patanjali. He composed the Vārtikās[103] on the Aṣṭādhyayī Sūtras of Pāṇini. Patanjali (B. C. 2nd century) composed Mahābhāṣya. Kātyāyan and Patanjali were separate[104] individuals."

According to our Professor, Kātyāyan was the name of a person rather than that of a family. We have shown above that it was the name of a family, and that Vararūchi belonged to that family. Patanjali also, in all probability, belonged to the same family. This contention of mine is open to correction based on further research.

(99) A hereditary trait, many a time, is found to have persisted through generations. This may be an example of it. Cf. f. n. no. 96.

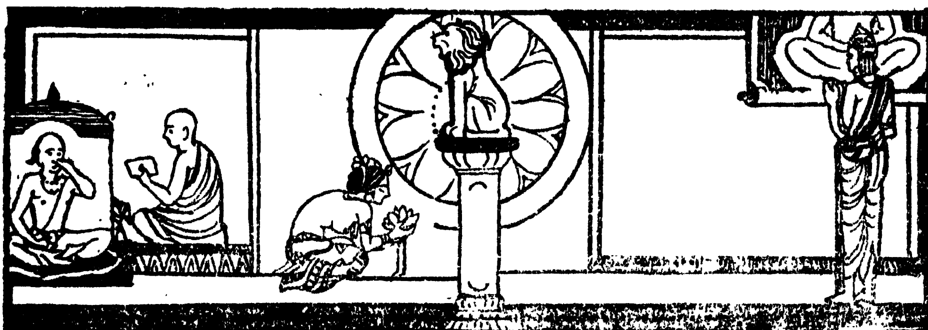
(100) My opinion is also the same; (Vol. II. pp. 174), and I have proved it.

(101) Cf. f. n. no. 95 above.

(102) Vararūchi was one member of the Kātyāyan family. His time was 4th century B. C. Patanjali was another member of the same family, and his time was B. C. 194—2nd century B. C. So, Prof. Bhatt's contention that Vararūchi was a predecessor of Patanjali is quite correct.

(103) The author of the Vārtikās was thus Patanjali; though Colebrooke, Wilson and Lassen have all (Bhilsa Topes pp. 50) identified the commentator on Pāṇini, with Vararūchi.

(104) As noted above, Vararūchi and Patanjali were two different individuals, belonging to the same family. Pāṇini and Vararūchi were contemporaries. Vararūchi, however, had plunged himself in the tangled stain of politics, and had no time to compose Vārtikās on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyi. As no other member of the Kātyāyan family is known to history, I have concluded that Patanjali must have belonged to it, in virtue of the fact that he has composed the Vārtikās,



Chapter V

Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatraps (Contd.)

Synopsis:—

MATHURĀ:—

(1) Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul—His names, his race, his family, his time, a detailed discussion—Chief events during his rule—the erection of the Lion Capital Pillar of Mathurā by his Queen Consort —the kings who attended the celebration of its opening ceremony—

(2) *Ṣoḍās:—His time—events during his rule.*

TAKṢILĀ

(1) Mahākṣatrap Liak—His race, name, time and the chief events during his life.

(2) *Pātik—A discussion about his time—his pious life—A discussion about figure 78 in his rock-inscription.*

Religion of the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs—Misunderstandings about their religious signs removed—Communalism and religion in modern times and confusions due to them.

The Madhya Deś was ruled by the Kṣaharaṭa chiefs—Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ. In the same way Mathurā was under the rule of Rājuvul and then under his son's–Ṣoḍas'-rule. They were also Kṣaharāṭas. Similarly the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs—Liak and then his son Pātik, ruled over Takṣilā. The accounts of Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ have already been given. In this chapter will be given an account, first of the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs of Mathurā, and then of the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs of Takṣilā. We begin the chapter with the account of Rājuvul, the first Kṣaharāṭa chief of Mathurā.

MATUHRĀ

(1) RĀJUVUL

Different scholars have given different names of Rājuvul. Though apparently different, they undoubtedly refer to the same individual. Hence we need not enter into needless details about them. It would be enough to mention those names. They are:—Rājul, Rājuvul, and Ranjubul[1]. Prof. Stein Konow states in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. 12, pp. 21 that word "Rājuvula" is made of "Raju"+ "Vula". Of these, " Raju " means " Rāja " = King, and " Vula " means " Vardhana " = increaser. Hence " Rajvardhana " was the sanskritized name of Rājuvul.

His names and race

In the account of Menander we have stated that he was born in the region of the Kabul valley, which was then called Kamboj or Gamboj. When the Yona chief, Demetrius, invaded India, he brought with him Menander, who was a distant relation of his, and also two or three brave young generals of the same race, from that region. The language spoken in those parts was Kharoṣṭī; so, scholars have called these people, "Kṣaharāṭas." The young Kṣaharāṭa chiefs, who accompanied Demetrius to India, were Bhūmak, Hagām—Hagāmāś, and Rājuvul. Whether there were

(1) C. H. I. pp. 575:—"Rajuvula of other inscriptions is Ranjubul; he struck coins both as Satrap and Mahakṣatrap." " He was the father of Sodash, in whose reign as Satrap the monument (Lion-pillar) was erected." C. H. I. pp. 526–27.

others also or not, will be discussed later on. Of these, Bhūmak was appointed as the Kṣatrap of Madhya-deś by Menander. Hagām-Hagāmāś were appointed as governors of the region around Mathurā and of Pāñchāl. Both these brothers died while fighting against Bhānumitra, the Śunga king. Then Rājuvul was appointed as the governor of that territory. So, Rājuvul was definitely a Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatrap though the period of his Kṣatrapī was very short. His coins[2] bear Kharoṣṭhī letters on them. The Lion Capital Pillar of Mathurā, erected by his Queen-consort, has the whole of its inscription in the Kharoṣṭhī language.[3] So, no other proofs are needed to prove that Rājuvul was a Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatrap.

His family

We are not much concerned with the names of the members of his family here. They have been, however, given below, in order to show the kinds of names these people had among them.[4] All these names are found on the Lion Capital Pillar of Mathurā. The name of Rājuvul's Queen-consort was Nandasiaksā; her father's name was Āyasikobhūsā; her mother's name was Abūlā, while Pisapasi was the name of her grand mother. "Hayuarā" was the name of his brother. The heir-apparent's name was Khalayas Kumār or Kharaosṭa.[5] The names of two other sons were Kāluyi and Maj. Śoḍās was the name of the fourth son, and Han was the name of the daughter. So, Rājuvul had four sons and one daughter. The fact that Śoḍās succeeded Rājuvul on the throne can be interpreted in two or three ways. The heir-apparent himself may have got two or three names, viz-Khalayas-Kumār, or Kharaoṣṭa, or Śoḍās. Or the heir-apparent must have died during the life-time of Rājuvul and so, Śoḍas being the next in age, must have

(2) Vide vol. II, Coin plate nos. vii & viii.

(3) C. H. I. pp. 574:—"The Kharoṣṭi inscription with which the surface is completely covered is associated with the religious merit of the foundation; the donor herself was the chief queen of the great Kṣatrap Rajula." (The words "Chief Queen" signify that Rājuvul must have had more than one queen).

(4) All these names are given in A. I. vol. IX, pp. 142; and in "Bhāratiya Prāchīn Rājvaṁśa," vol. II, pp. 193 and further.

(5) Read f. n. no. 6 below.

come to the throne The Queen-consort had three sons; while Śoḍās and Han have been stated separately, as born of another queen. We are not sure whether Śoḍās and Han were born of the same queen, or were issues of two different queens. But one thing is made certain by this, that Rājuvul had more than one queen. We have stated above that Kharaoṣṭa was but another name of Khalayas—Kumār. In some other places Kharaoṣṭa has been stated to have been the name of Rājuvul's sister's son.[6]

His coins make it evident that[7] he was at first a Kṣatrap, and had, later on, risen to Mahākṣatrapī. During his Kṣatrapī, he must have had some king as his overlord. And this overlord was none other than Menanḍer. Now, we know that Hagām-Hagāmāś were the governors of this province during the life-time of Menanḍer, and that both these brothers and Menanḍer were killed while fighting against Bhānumitra, the Śunga king. The very fact that Bhānumitra won the battle means that the province in question came under his power; and then we cannot consider apart the Kṣatrapī of Rājuvul, over the province. So, the question we have to decide is, " When did Rājuvul become a Kṣatrap ? " We have to accept any of the following two alternatives, in answer to that question. (1) He may have been appointed as Kṣatrap during the life time of Menanḍer. But if we accept this as true, we shall have also to agree that Hagāmāś died earlier than B. C. 159, i. e. before the battle with the Śunga king. (2) Bhānumitra might have annexed this province to his kingdom, immediately after his victory in the battle. Then, a little later, Rājuvul must have wrested it from his hands. But then, he must have assumed the title "Mahākṣatrap," because his overlord, Menanḍer, was already dead. So again, the question—when did he become a Kṣatrap ?—remains unanswered. Looking to these things, it would not be wrong if we conclude that Hagāmāś died before 159 B C., and that in his place Rājuvul was appointed as Kṣatrap of the province by

His time

(6) C. S. H. I. pp. 70:—'Another member of the family known to us is Kharaoṣṭa, of Ranjubul." He was the son of Ārta, Rājuvul's daughter's son.

(7) Read f. n. no. 1 above.

Menander himself[8]. Now, how long he governed the province as "Kṣatrap," remains to be settled. But we are not here much concerned with that question, because the period of his Kṣatrapī cannot be included in the period of his reign. So, we need not bother ourselves with it here.

Now let us turn to his period of Mahākṣatrapī. We have stated in the preceding paragraph that as a result of his victory over Menander, Bhānumitra, the Śunga king, had annexed this province to his kingdom in B. C. 159. The very fact that Rājuvul became the Mahākṣatrap of the same province, proves that he must have reconquered it from the Śunga king. We have now to decide in what year this transfer took place. It has been proved that the rule of Bhānumitra lasted for 17 years, from B. C. 159 to 142. His successors were weak kings, who wielded nominal power. So, Rājuvul must have reconquered the province either during the life time of Bhānumitra or after his death. It is, however, quite improbable, that Rājuvul should have patiently awaited the death of the Śunga king—an event over which he had no control, and for which he might have had to wait too long. So, it is not unreasonable to conclude that four or five years after 159 B. C., Rājuvul must have reconquered the province from the Śunga king. So, his Mahākṣatrapī began from 154–5 B. C. We may accept this as a tentative hypothesis. We may now turn to the question of the year in which his rule ended. For that we have a rock-inscription to base a conclusion upon. His Queen-consort, as we know, got a Lion Capital Pillar erected at Mathurā. In it, his son Soḍās[9] is mentioned as a Kṣatrap. In the votive-tablet of Āmohi, Soḍās has styled himself as Mahākṣatrap[10]. This means

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(8) If we accept the above given contention as true we shall have to make certain changes in the accounts of Hagām–Hagāmāś.

(9) Read f. n. no. 1 above, and the paragraph about his family, given above.

(10) C. H. I. pp. 575:—"Subsequently, after the erection of Mathurā-Lion-Capital in his reign as Satrap, he (Soḍās) appears as Great Satrap on the Āmohi votive tablet at Mathurā dated in the second month of the year 42." Vide A. I. vol. IX, pp. 139.

Vide "Mathurā and Its Antiquities," by Vincent Smith, (1901), Introduction,

that sometime in the interval between the erection of these two rock-inscriptions, Soḍās became Mahākṣatrap as a result of Rājuvul's death. Both the rock-inscriptions contain figure 42 in them. To what era does this number belong ? In the account of Bhūmak we have stated that he started the Kṣaharāṭa era in B. C. 159, the year in which he became an independent ruler, and assumed the title "Mahākṣatrap." Rājuvul was also a Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatrap. It has been found that he had close social, political and religious associations with Bhūmak. Hence it is quite logical to conclude that in the inscriptions of Rājuvul and his successors, the Kṣaharāṭa era was used. So, the figure 42 belongs to that era. Now the figure 42 of that era means B. C. 117, the year in which Rājuvul died. Thus, Rājuvul's rule lasted for 38 years, from B. C. 155[11] to 117.

Much water must have flowed in the Ganges during the 38 years of Rājuvul's rule. But as details are not forthcoming, we have perforce to maintain an awful sort of silence. Only one event is known to us, thanks to the rock-inscription erected by his Queen-consort. It was the re-establishment of the Lion Capital Pillar at Mathurā. Details about this will be given later on in a separate appendix. The names of Rājuvul's relations have already been mentioned in a previous paragraph.

Events during his reign

This was a religious occasion. As such, it was a very important event and of very great magnitude. The name of the Queen-consort has also been mentioned in connection with it. So, it was decided that the ceremony must be performed by some one, who was the greatest Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatrap from all points of view. At that time there were three Kṣaharāṭa kingdoms in India. One kingdom—that of the Punjab—was under Mahākṣatrap Liak. Another—that of Mathurā—was under Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul; and

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pp. 5. On pp. 21 of that book it is stated:—"In the 42nd year of the Mahākṣatrap Ṣoḍās. (Plate no XIV, Ayaga-patta)."

(11) The Kṣaharāṭa era began when Bhūmak became an independent ruler. The beginning of the reign of Rājuvul had no direct connection with the beginning of that era.

the third-that of Madhya deś was under Mahākṣatrap, Bhūmak. Bhūmak was considered to be superior to the other two Mahākṣatraps, in many ways. He was the oldest of the three. During the life time of Menander, his position and power were next to only Menander himself. So, he was invited to preside over the religious ceremony on this occasion. But by this time, 42nd year of the Kṣaharāṭa era=B. C. 117, Bhūmak had reached his 95th year, and hence he sent his son and heir-apparent, Nahapāṇ as his representative. Liak, the Mahākṣatrap of Takṣilā, was also invited on this occasion. So he, together with his heir-apparent Pātik, attended the ceremony. In fact, all members of the ruling families of Kṣaharāṭs graced the occasion with their presence, except Bhūmak, whom his old age prevented from doing so. Not only were all the kith and kin of Rājuvul present, but all the relations of his Queen-consort, Nandsiaksā, the originator of the whole occasion, were also present on the occasion. Their names are also found on the Lion Capital Pillar. Now we can understand the reason why she considered this to be the most momentous event in her life[12]. All Mahākṣatraps and Kṣatraps attended the ceremony, and Nahapāṇ[13] as a representative of the most venerated member of the Kṣaharāṭa race, presided over the ceremony, though he himself was only "Kṣatrap"[14].

This event, religious as it is, leads us to two or three conclusions:—(1) All these Mahākṣatraps were religious-minded. (2) Though steeped in material comforts and luxury, they were pious and were highly race-conscious. (3) They were noble-minded and generous-hearted. (4) They were not jealous of one another.

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(12) It was a religious occasion, and religion was uppermost in the mind of the queen. So the occasion has been described as the most momentous in her life. Details given in the special appendix on Mathurā will convince the reader of the truth of this statement.

This occasion is a clear index to the religious inclination of the Kṣaharāṭs.

(13) J. B. B. R. A. S., new edition, vol. III, pp. 61:—"It is obvious that Nahapāṇ was a contemporary of Rājuvul, the Mahākṣatrap of Mathurā."

(14) Nahapāṇ became Mahākṣatrap in B. C. 114. So, at the time of this ceremony in 117 B. C., he was a Kṣatrap.

Bhūmak, a powerful ruler, never entertained the idea of wresting even a slice of territory from his brother Mahākṣatraps.

Two or four months after the event described above, Rājuvul died. He was succeeded by his son Soḍās[15].

(2) SOḌĀS'

After the death of Rājuvul, Soḍās, his son, came to the throne of Mathurā and assumed the title Mahākṣatrap in B. C. 117=A. M. 410. Little is known of the events that took place during the rule of Soḍās. The veil of darkness is still over them. Hence, excepting a detail or two, here and there, we cannot throw any light upon his reign.

Soḍās

We have stated above that immediately after ascending the throne, the Āmohi Āyāg-patta was erected in Mathurā, for purposes of religious devotion. The inscription there mentions this thing. So, this Āyāga-patta must have been erected in 117 B. C. Prof. Stein Konow, however, has stated that the figure in the inscription is 72 and not 42[16]; and this number 72, has been supposed to have belonged to the Vikrama era, and so has been calculated as 24 (?) B. C. Without bothering the readers with refutations of such imaginary theories, we may simply state that the Kṣaharāṭa era being unknown to these scholars, they have jumped from conclusion to conclusion—all wrong, because the very basis is wrong.

The reign of Soḍās began in B. C. 117; while that of Nahapāṇ began in 114 B. C.; i. e. three years later. Nahapāṇ's rule ended in 74 B. C. We are not so definite about the end of Soḍās' rule. The Indo-Pārthian Emperor Mauses, however, had defeated both the Kṣaharāṭa Mahākṣatraps of Takṣilā and of Mathurā, and had annexed their provinces to his kingdom[17]. So, we may reasonably conclude that Soḍās' rule must have ended in about 78 B. C. to 75. Thus from B. C. 117 to B. C. 75 would be 42 years. This shows that Nahapāṇ and Soḍās were contemporaries almost

(15) Vide pp. 177 above.

(16) Vide J. Ind. His. Qu. vol. XII.

(17) We shall give details about this in the account of Emperor Mauses.

throughout their reigns. But scholars have come to the conclusion that Nahapāṇ was a predecessor of Soḍās[18]. This may be due to two reasons. In the first place, these scholars, including Prof. Stein Konow, had little information about the time of both and so have come to whatever conclusions that struck their minds. In the second place, it is quite true that they have compared the rock-inscriptions of both and have taken note of the numbers given in them. But, in the case of Nahapāṇ, they noted down the number from an inscription which he had got erected as Kṣatrap; while in the case of Soḍās, they noted down the number from an inscription that was erected by him at the end of his reign. They missed the fact that this caused a gap of 45 years in their calculations. Hence we have this series of mistakes and mis-statements.

We know nothing about any other event or events that might have taken place during his reign, or during the reign of his father. We may conclude that both were peace-loving rulers, who made themselves busy in activities conducing to the well-being of their subjects. Hence we hear of no warfares and such other disturbances during their reigns. They were religious-minded and highly civilized.

TAKṢILĀ

Here also we have to give an account of only two rulers. The first was Liak and the second was Pātik.

(1) LIAK

As we have stated before, he was a Kṣaharaṭ. He is also known as Kusulak Liak or Liak Kusulak. Kusulak was the name probably of his title, or of his family; or simply, it may have been his another name. It does not seem to have been the name of his family. Had it been so, it would also have been

His race and his names

(18) J. B. B. R. A. S., new edition, vol. III, pp. 64:—"Nahapāṇ lived prior to Soḍās of Mathurā and therefore Nahapāṇ preceded Soḍās."

I. A. vol. 37, (1908) pp. 43:—"The characters of the inscriptions of Soḍās are later than those of the inscriptions of Nahapān."

appended to the name of his son Pātik[19]. So it may have been a title[20] or just another name.

During the life time of Menander, the province was under the rule of a Kṣatrap named Antitialcidās. He had tried to cultivate friendly relations with Bhānumitra, the Śunga king, after Menander was killed in a battle against the latter. Liak succeeded Antitialcidās.

His time

Whether this happened because Antitialcidās was dead, or because he gave up his throne, or because he was deposed, is not known to us. We also do not know whether Liak succeeded him immediataly, or after some time. So, as we did in the case of Rājuvul, we shall rest content with a tentative hypothesis that his rule began in B. C. 155. Nothing is known as to when he died or when his reign ended. We know, howewer, that Mahākṣatrap Liak of Takṣilā, together with his son Pātik, had attended the religious ceremony in connection with the Lion Capital Pillar of Mathurā. The inscription on the pillar contains the mention of this fact. This proves that his rule lasted upto 117 B. C. at the least. It may have ended in about 115 B. C., after a rule of 40 years. Various scholars have advanced various theories about his time. We have stated above that we cannot much rely upon them. Hence we need not enter into unnecessary discussion here.

Some scholars believe that he was the ruler of Mathurā. They have based this theory on the fact that he was present on the occasion of the religious ceremony mentioned above. But we now know the real state of things. Many scholars have definitely stated[21] that he was the ruler of the Punjab.

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(19) Read f. n. no. 25 below. There Pātik is described as "Kusul Pātik." That, however, does not seem to be probable. Hence, as long as we do not have any authoritative piece of evidence, it would be better to refrain from giving any other name to Pātik.

(20) C. H. I. pp. 583:—"It is no doubt a title like the Kujul Kaḍaphisis."

(21) J. Ind. His. Qua. vol. XII, pp. 41:—"The chief Liak Kusulak is characterised as Kṣaharāṭ and as a Kṣatrap of Chukhsa."

C. Sh. H. pp. 68:—"Pātik, the son of Liak Kusulak Moga's Satrap of Chukhsa and Chhahara." (This information is not quite correct. The extract is given here only to show that Chukhsa was a district of the province of Peśāvar). In C. H. I. pp. 574, the same theory is supported.

Nothing further is known about any events that might have happened during his rule. His reign also must have been prosperous and peaceful like that of Soḍās. He was succeeded by his son Pātik.

(2) PĀTIK—PĀLIK

We have stated that he was a Kṣaharāṭ, and the son of Liak. He succeeded his father on the throne. He had accompanied his father to Mathurā, on the occasion of the religious ceremony performed in connection with the Lion Capital Pillar. His rule began in B. C. 115. It is not yet definitely known or settled, when his rule ended.

Pātik

A writer[22] has said about Liak Kusulak:—"His (Liak Kusulak) son Patik, who made the deposit of relics copper-plate inscription of 78 (Takṣila), which is commemorated by the inscription, bore no title at the time". The extract given above means:-(1) Pātik got the copper-plate inscribed, at Takṣilā. It was erected by him in commemoration of certain religious relics. (2) The copper—plate contains the number 78. The same writer has said, in connection with emperor Mauses[23]:—"He (Mauses) is undoubtedly to be identified with the great king Moga[24], who is mentioned in the Takṣila coper-plate inscription of the Kṣatrap Patik. The inscription is dated in the reign of Mauses and in the year 78 of some unspecified era. None of the known Indian eras seem to be probable". This extract means:—(1) The copper-plate was inscribed by Pātik, during the rule of Moga. (2) The year was 78 of some unspecified era. The writer has not been able to identify the era. This means that Takṣilā was under the power of emperor Moses in the 78th year of the same era. In the same year, Pātik got a copper-plate inscribed but no title is appended to his name in it.

(22) C. H. I. pp. 575.
(23) C. H. I. pp. 574.
(24) Mauses, Moses and Moga are names of the same individual,

We have no mention of Liak Kusulak in these things. Was he alive? or, was he dead? The name of Pātik has been clearly mentioned. But it is not certain, whether he was under the power of Mauses, or whether he had any political relations with him. The fact that no title is found with the name of Pātik, means that he must have given up his throne—must have been forced to do so—by that time. In B. C. 117, when he accompanied his father to Mathurā to attend the religious ceremony, the title Kṣatrap has been found with his name. We find that title with his name in the rock-inscription there. On other occasions he has been found to have called himself Mahākṣatrap[25]. So, he might have as well mentioned his title in the copper-plate, if he had had one to mention. So, it must have happened that (see f. n. 25), while Mahākṣatrap Pātik had gone on a pilgrimage to Mathurā in 78, Mauses conquered his province. It may as well have happened that Pātik fought against him and was defeated. And so, he had no title at the time of the copper-plate. This theory fits in with every occasion and hence we may accept it as true for the present. We now come to the conclusion that:— (1) 78 belongs to the Kṣaharāṭa era. The Lion-Capital Pillar contains the figure 42, of the same era. All the Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatraps mentioned the years of this era in connection with the events that took place during their reigns. So, in the 78th year of the era, Pātik had gone on a pilgrimage to Mathurā; B. C. 81. (2) Next year, in B. C. 80, emperor Moga conquered Takṣilā and Pātik had to give up his throne. (3) No evidence is forthcoming to prove that Moga conquered the province as a result of a battle in which Pātik himself was present. So, we may conclude

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(25) J. Ind. His. Qu. vol. XII, pp. 20 (The writer is Prof. Stein Konow):— "Mahakshatrap Kusul Patik (identified with Patik, the son of the Kshaharata, the Kshatrap Liak Kusulak)."

The author has called Pātik, Mahākṣatrap. But neither the occasion nor the date is mentioned. I remember that he had once gone on a pilgrimage to Mathurā. (He had also attended the religious ceremony in connection with the Lion-Pillar there. Figure 78 is mentioned therein).

C. A. R. Introduction, pp. 102, para 81:—"Subsequently Pātik is a Mahākṣatrap (Mathurā Lion-Capital)."

that he had taken advantage of Pātik's absence[26]—not a very creditable thing on the part of emperor Mauses. All the same, he has allowed Pātik to perform the religious ceremony of the copper-plate. This shows his generosity and religious tolerance[27].

Nothing is known of the later life of Pātik. But, with the year in which he gave up his throne, his political career may be said to have ended. That took place in B. C. 80[28]. His reign thus lasted for 35 years—from B. C. 115 to 80.

We have given an account of all the three Kṣaharāṭa kingdoms in India. The account of Madhyadeśa, the most important of the three, was given in chapters three and four. The accounts of Mathurā and Takṣilā have been given in this chapter. All the three kingdoms had their end almost at the same time within five years. As to how this happened and what were its implications, the reader is referred to chapter viii, the paragraph entitled, "The extent of the territory"—of Emperor Mauses.

Figure 78-To which era does it belong ?

We need not here dwell upon the importance of rock-inscriptions and their usefulness to ancient history. We could fix the time of Mahākṣatrap Pātik and of emperor Mauses, with the help of the copper-plate found out at Takṣilā. I have given my interpretation of it. Now, we shall deal with the interpretations of other scholars of the same and see how far correct they are.

On pp. 185 the literal meaning of the inscription is given in the words of the author of C. H. I. We shall quote it once more here:—"The inscription is dated in the reign of Mauses and in the year 78 of some unspecified era." The author has not

(26) The fact, that Pātik was not harassed in any way, shows that no battle took place between the two. He seized the throne, taking advantage of the absence of Pātik. He behaved tolerantly towards him in religious matters.

(27) Read the last part of f. n. no. 26 above.

(28) Scholars have fixed the time of emperor Mauses as B. C. 78. They believe that the starting of the Śaka era has some connection with Mauses. So, they have mentioned this number 78. It is however, really not the number. (For details vide the account of Aziz I).

stated what connection 78 had with Mauses, or in what year of his reign this took place. He says only that the province was under the power of Mauses. Generally that era is found on an inscription, which the author of the inscription considers most sacred and nearest to him. Pātik must have mentioned the era which was connected with his race, and for which he, naturally enough, had a liking. Even at present, though the current eras are, the Vikram era and the Christian era, yet whenever there is any religious occasion, only that era is prominently mentioned, to which the performer of the ceremony feels the closest affinity. Thus, a Muslim would mention the Hijari era, a Pārsī gentleman would mention the Jarthosta era, a Jain would mention the Mahāvīra era, a Buddhist would mention the Buddha era and so on. So, a Kṣaharāṭa chief naturally made use of the Kṣaharāṭa era. Most of the scholars are yet in the dark about this era and hence have come to different conclusions about 78. One of them[29] says:—" The month in the inscription is Pārthian[30] and from this fact it may be inferred that the era itself is probably of Pārthian origin. It may possibly mean the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistan, after its incorporation into the Pārthian empire by Mithradates I." The same writer further on states:—"If so, the date of the inscription would be *cir.* 72 B. C.; a year which may well have fallen in the reign of Mauses." Many points are raised in these extracts. Not being concerned with them however, we shall not discuss them here. According to this writer Mithradates must have conquered Śeistān in 72+78=150 B. C. No doubt the time of Mithradates has been stated to have been B. C. 174 to 136 (See the dynastic list facing pp. 79); and hence, it could be said to have connection with the year in which he conquered Śeistān. It is all right to presume, that an era may be begun in commemoration of a certain event; but the more generally

(29) C. H. I. pp. 570.

(30) The actual words are "Second month." So, how can we say that it refers to the Pārthian year? Did the Pārthians write in this way? Some examples of that kind must have been given. The reader will see that this was the custom of the Kṣaharāṭs. Read further for that (f. n. 32 below).

accepted way is to start the era from the year in which that king, with whom the event is connected, began his rule. Even if we make an exception in this case, we should not forget the fact that the reign of Mauses had ended in B. C. 72[31]. Some scholars hold the opinion that his reign ended in 78 B. C.; but the weight of the majority is in favour of B. C. 75. Whatever view we subscribe to, we cannot escape the fact that his rule had ended three to six years before the event took place. Hence we cannot accept that era as true from this point of view. (2) Some other scholars believe * :—"It is far more probable that he (Mauses) invaded India after the end of the reign of Mithradates II, when Parthia ceased to exercise any real control over Seistan and Kandhar." This extract is capable of two interpretations. No. 78 may signify the end of the rule of Mithradates; or it may be the number of the era started by Mauses, who, after the death of Mithradates, may have invaded India and may have conquered many provinces. These two events must have taken place almost side by side. There must not have been much interval of time between them—hardly five years. The time of Mithradates II was B. C. 123 to 88 (See the list facing pp. 79). Taking into consideration two years this way or that way, the era must have begun any time between B. C. 88 to 80. So the 78th year of such an era would come to B. C. 10 to 2. This is more improbable than even the first theory.

The facts given above will convince the reader that our theory is soundly based. In one of the theories given above, the month is said to have belonged to the Pārthian year (f. n. no. 30); but the same will be found often in "Mathurā and its Antiquities." The book is full of details about the Kṣaharāṭa and the Kuśāna chiefs. That itself proves, that the system of mentioning months and seasons was prevalent among these people also.

Before we finish this chapter on the Kṣatraps, we shall have to say something about their religion and about their territorial

(31) See the list facing pp. 79.

* C. H. I. pp. 574.

extents, according to our custom. The territorial extents have been incidentally described. We know little about the events that may have taken place during their reigns. The boundaries of the kingdoms of all the three Mahākṣatraps were close to one another and often collided with one another. Hence, they had no scope for territorial expansion in the neighbourhood of their kingdoms, because no kṣatrap ever entertained the idea of encroaching upon the possessions of his brother—kṣatraps. They kept very friendly relations with one another as we have already seen. Again, they all were religious-minded and liked to lead a peaceful life. Hence the absence of stormy events during their reigns. Trade and commerce thrived, people became happy and prosperous, and there was progress in all the good things of life.

The religion of the Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatraps

The Yonas came to India from a territory which was outside Bharatakhanḍ. Hence they had little of religion and civilization. The Kṣaharāṭs came from a province that was the birth-place of the ancient sages who composed the Śrutis and Smṛtis. (Part VI, chap. I, for the places of origin of these people). So, their civilization was Āryan from the first. As a proof of this, we have mentioned their method[32] of specifying time on their inscriptions and copper-plates.

As to what religion a particular people followed, we have two sources of information:—(i) coins, (ii) rock-inscriptions and deeds of charity inscribed on copper-plates. Signs on coins always throw a good light on their religion. Charity-deeds, on the other hand, may contain details which may not be connected with the religion or with the family of the donor. They may contain details about donations, about the welfare of the people, and about many other things. Hence, they are always less useful and less reliable than coins.

(32) Such details as, the year, the season, the month, the fortnight and the day—five details in all—denote cent percent Āryan civilization. The less the number of details, the remoter the people from Āryan civilization are.

Cf. the details given in the paragraph above, about the methods of the Kṣaharāṭs and of the Kuṣāns, in giving these details of time.

The coins of the Kṣaharaṭs are found mainly in the regions where they had the seats of their capital—namely—Gujarat, Avantī, Mathurā and Takṣilā. The inscriptions and charity deeds on copper-plates are found in distant places like Nāsik. On the coins, we find signs like the Dharmachakra, Lion, Swastik, Chaitya and others. Scholars hold the opinion that these signs belong to Buddhism. On what pieces of evidence they have based this opinion, we do not know. Do any Buddhist books contain any references to these signs ? There were three religions in ancient India, namely, Brahminism, Buddhism and Jainism and there were more than one points of resemblance among them. So, signs belonging to one of them, have been mistakenly taken as signs belonging to the other. We have discussed these things in details in Vol. II, and especially in the chapters on coins. Some more details will be given in appendixes on Mathurā and on Takṣilā.

The Dharmachakra is mainly a sign on Takṣilā coins. The question that we might well ask is, "Did Buddha ever visit that place ?" Or did any of his disciples visit it as a Buddhist missionary during his lifetime ? If we do not get any proof in support of these contentions, on what ground can we say that the Dharmachakra is a Buddhist sign ? (More details are given in the appendix of Takṣilā).

The same is the case with Mathurā[33]. The Lion-Capital Pillar of Mathurā was erected by Nandisiaksā, the queen consort

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(33) Prof. Rhys Davids is a famous and accredited authority on Buddhist literature. He states on pp. 37 of "The Buddhist India,":—"Mathura is mentioned in the Milinda (331) as one of the most famous places in India; whereas in the Buddha's time, it is barely mentioned; the time of its greatest growth must have been between these dates."

[Author's note:—This makes it clear that Buddha himself had no connections with Mathurā. We do not know anything about its condition during Alexander's time. That it was a prosperous town can have nothing to do with Buddhism. After Aśok's time, Buddhism had disappeared practically from the whole of India. It was revived a little during the rule of the Guptas, in the 3rd century A. D.]

For more details, vide the appendix on Mathurā.

of Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul. (Details about this are given in the appendix on Mathurā). The inscription on the pillar contains the names of many members of the Kṣaharāṭa ruling families. At the top of it is the figure of the Lion. Was it a sign of Buddha ? The gate-way of the Mathurā temple has been acclaimed as belonging to Jainism by all the scholars. (Vol. I. pp. 189; fig. nos. 32, 33, 34). The same type of gateways have been found out at the Bhārhut and the Sāñchī stūpas. Curiously enough, the latter two stūpas have been declared as belonging to Buddhism by the same scholars. Why ? Can they be dubbed as belonging to different religions—inspite of their architectural unity—just because they have been erected at different places ? Three or four miles from Mathurā, there is a mound named Kankālitilā. It was a suburb of the ancient city of Mathurā. Some ancient relics like idols and Āyāgapaṭṭas have been found out there. Scholars have unanimously agreed to the fact that they belong to Jainism. Then, why try to prove that the Lion Capital Pillar belongs to Buddhism ? (Later on, some scholars are inclined to believe that it belongs to Jainism).

The story of the other two signs—the Chaitya and the Swastik[34]-is also the same. To make a long story short, a grave misunderstanding prevails among scholars on these points. Chapter II, Vol. II, deserves to be carefully gone through by all readers, who are anxious to understand the real state of things. Then they will come to the conclusion that none of these signs have any connection with Buddhism. Evidence based on coins makes it as clear as daylight that they belong to Jainism.

Some one might argue, " You raise doubts about Buddha having ever visited those places and you demand evidence to that effect. Then, what positive evidence have you to forward to prove that your contention is quite correct ? " In answer to this

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(34) The Swastik is seen on the coins of Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ. (Vide vol. II. Coin fig. nos. 35, 36, 37 and their description on pp. 88-91.) They were followers of Jainism. Vide Ind. His. Qu. Vol. V, 1929, June no., pp. 357:—"Was Nahapāṇ a Jain ? " All these things prove that Nahapāṇ was a Jain.

we might state that details about the religions of all the kings, whose accounts have been given in these volumes, will convince the reader of the truth of our contention. Again, the reader, I think, will readily agree with me that evidence based on coins is quite reliable. So, also is the evidence based on rock-inscriptions. Numerous rock-inscriptions of Priyadarśin[35] proclaim the fact that he had sent missionaries—Dhamma-mahāmātrās—in all countries like Yavana-deś, Yona-deś, Kāśmīr, Gāndhār, Tibeṭ, Egypt, Syria and others. This took place in about B. C. 250. The foreigners, whose accounts we give here, came to India from these countries, during the hundred years from B. C. 200 to 100. It is quite reasonable to believe that the zealous efforts of Priyadarśin to spread Jainism everywhere in the world, were not lost upon these people. At least, the influence must have lasted a century or two after his death. An event that took place two hundred years after his death, and details about which are given in the account of the Gardabhila[36] king of Avantī, proves that the Śakas who lived there, were followers of Jainism. This is supported by Vāyupurāṇ,– a book which we do not expect to have had any partiality towards Jainism.

The weight of all these pieces of evidence bends us only to one direction or point of view. The view is that all the Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatraps and Mahākṣatraps were followers of Jainism. They were converted to Jainism by the missionaries of Priyadarśin. So, Prof. Rapson's statement that the Dharma-chakra[37] is a Buddhist sign must be taken as wrong. It was a Jaina sign, and so were the signs of the coins of Mathurā and Takṣilā.

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(35) All the inscriptions of Priyadarśin were believed by scholars to be connected with Buddhism, because of their erroneous contention that Priyadarśin was but another name of Aśok. We have proved in vol. II that "Priyadarśin" was not another name of Aśok. He was the successor of Aśok on the throne, and he was a staunch Jain. Hence all the inscriptions attributed to him belong to Jainism.

(36) The account of the Gardabhila dynasty is given in the last chapters of this volume. Full details about this are given there.

(37) C. A. R. paragraph 87:—"The wheel of the Law is a symbol of

Hitherto, as the reader knows, we have followed the custom of devoting a separate chapter to the account of the territorial extents of the kings of a dynasty. Writers of history have been always inclined to treat only cursorily the problem of religion followed by the kings of a dynasty. We have tried below to show that historians cannot afford to neglect this point.

Religion & civilization

In our times it has become a sort of fashion to decry religion as a thing of no importance, and not unoften as a thing quite harmful to the progress of society. This denotes a decline in spiritualism. We find, as a result of this, that everywhere fight for material security and gain is rampart. Secular matters have come to be recognized as the be-all and end-all of a person's, or for the matter of that, a society's life here. Religion has come to mean a series of non-sensical rites and rituals[38]. Caste-distinctions also have worked a havoc. For instance, a Brāhmiṇ would not take to trade as a means of livelihood. They may take to the profession of cooking if they like or to the profession of teaching. The Banias will always stick to their trade and will never bother themselves with any other thing in the world. Tannery is almost a monopoly of Mochis[39]. So, India has become caste-ridden. Hence, we have communal classes and other miserable happenings in India to-day.

In these volumes—we may draw the reader's attention—the term "Religion" has not been used in this narrow sense. Neither do I believe that it had any such narrow sense in ancient times.

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the Buddhist (?) faith which was professed by the Satarpal families of Takṣilā and Mathurā." The interrogation sign is mine. Details about this are given in the appendix on Takṣilā.

(38) This narrow definition of religion is the cause of many caste evils existing to-day. The followers of the faith have, therefore to lead a sort of crabbed life.

(39) Vide vol. I, pp. 26-28 and pp. 254-57 for the original purpose of the creation of classes and guilds.

(40) With the spread of education, this sort of caste-mentality is being gradually shaken off.

I have tried to give my ideas on the subject in vol. I, Pref. pp. 15 charge No. 3 and last para on that page. By Brahminism, I mean, Brahmina culture and civilization, in the broadest sense of these terms. And so with Buddhism and Jainism. Now, I shall try to give my ideas about the two religions—namely-Brahminism and Jainism[41]—that existed in those times. The reader will be convinced that I have never entertained the idea of belittling any religion. Brahminism[42] means the religion based on the Vedas. This definition is not, of course, either quite correct or quite comprehensive[43]. A Sanskṛt verse tells us:—

Janmanā jāyaté Śūdrah, sanskārair dvija uchyaté;
Karmaṇā yāti vipratvaṁ, Brahmam jānāti Brāhmaṇah.

"A man by birth is Śūdra, but he becomes a Brāhmaṇ if he comes to that level in matters of conduct and culture. It is conduct that lifts a man to Brahminism. One, who is in communion with the Highest Power is a Brāhmaṇ." Jainism also

(41) It is said that there were three religions in ancient times:— Brahminism, Buddhism and Jainism. But Buddhism came into existence much later, and the creation of that faith is not as original and independent as that of the other two. Hence, we have said that there were two religions in ancient times.

(42) The term "Brāhmaṇ" is the name of one of the four classes into which society was divided in those times. It has no connection with any particular religion. There are mythological books of the Vedic religion. They are known as "Brāhmaṇas." At present, however, "Brahminism" is considered to be equivalent to the Vedic religion. The reader will understand that it was not so in ancient times.

(43) This definition too cannot be accepted as final or comprehensive; because Jains have their Vedas too. Their Vedas are different. (Their names are:-(1) Sansārdarśan Veda; (2) Sansthāpana Parāmarśan Veda; (3) Tattvāvabodh Veda; (4) Vidyāprabodh Veda. (Vide "Jainatattvādarśa" by Vijayānandasūri Nyāyāmbhonidhi. See f. n. no. 45 below). Ordinarily, however, it is a very common belief that the Jains have no Vedas and that they do not believe in any. On account of this reason, non-Jains say that the Jains are atheists.

(44) Other definitions given in other books are:—

"Janmanā jayaté Śūdrah sanskāreṇa Dvijottamah;
Vedpāṭhī bhavét Vipro, Brahma jānāti Brāhmaṇah."

"Bambhchéreṇ Bambhaṇo" (Uttarādhyayan, chap. 26, Gāthā, 31).

states that the person who attains to the highest heights of knowledge about Soul, is the most spiritually advancad. Thus we see that the points of view of both the religions are not at all different.

On one occasion I consulted the famous Jaina Āchārya, Vijayavallabhasūri, about " Brahmaṁ charatīti Bhrāhmaṇah." He quoted a verse, given in verse 44 below. Then he referred me to two books—"Brāhmaṇo-kī Utpatti" (origin of the Brāhmaṇās), and "Vedo-kī Utpatti" (origin of the Vedas)-by late Vijayānandsūriji. These two books are printed in Jainatattvādarśa[45]. Vijayānandasūriji had made his mark in " The World's Parliament of Religions " which held its meeting in Chicago. He explained to me that during the rule of Bharat Chakravartī, the son of Ṛṣabhadev, the first Jaina Tīrthankar, it was made a rule that one who wanted to study anything was to do so under a Guru–a teacher. The Guru was to observe certain rules, one of which was complete celebacy (vide the edicts of Emp. Priyadarśin). These Gurus always preached to their pupils the gospel of non–violence[46]. (Mā+haṇ=Don't kill). So, a "Māhaṇ" means a Śrāvak[47]; one who observes the law of non-violence. The term "Jain" is derived from the Sanskṛt verb "Ji"=to conquer. One who curbs his desires, anger and other evil passions is called "Jain". So the term "Jain" and "Māhaṇ" have the same meaning. In order to distinguish it from "Ari',[48], it is probable that "Māhaṇ" was changed into "Brāhmaṇ". Thus a "Brāhmaṇ" was he, who worked as a teacher and observed all

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(45) Printed at Lāhore in A. D. 1936; vol. II, second part, chap. 11, pp. 384 to 390.

(46) All Jains, whether they remain in the world or renounce it and become monks, have to put into practice the following five Vratas (1) Non–violence; (2) Truth; (3) Astey; (4) Celebacy; (5) Aparigrah= Mūrchhātyāg.

(47) At present, the term "Śrāvak" is used in distinguishing a "Jain" from the followers of other faiths. The cardinal and most vital doctrine of Jainism is non–violence=Ahiṁsā.

(48) Ari=enemy; haṇ=to kill. Arihant=One who has killed his (internal) enemies=Jina.

the rules necessary for his profession. A " Jain " was a person who achieved conquest over enemies like " anger," "evil desires" etc.

The details stated above will convince the reader that the terms " Brāhmin or Bainbhaṇ" and " Jain " are much more similar to each other than they are dissimilar. Both religions have their origin in the Vedas[49], and both propound a sort of theism. This state of things continued uninterruptedly for thousands of years. They drifted into different directions at the time when the Upaniṣads, the Śrutis and the Smṛtis were written, i. e. in B. C. 8th to 10th centuries.[50] Whenever degeneration became rampant in Brahminism a great person was born to wipe off all the undesirable elements. So has it been said in Gita that:—

" Paritrāṇāya sādhūnāṃ, vināśāya cha duṣkṛtrāṃ;
Dharmasaṁsthāpanārthāya, saṁbhavāmi yuge yuge."[51]

Now, it must have been clear to the readers that the terms "Brahmaṇ" and "Jain" do not smack of communalism or of caste mentality. They are universal terms and have comprehensive connotations. Any person belonging to any community and caste can embrace any of the two faiths.[52] They do not encourage any sort of communalism. On the contrary they discourage it. They represent very ancient and very noble civilizations. All defects in them have been the work of evil influences of all sorts. If tried to understand in a spirit of compromise and with a real love for truth, there would come a time, very shortly, when they may come into their own and make the world happy.

While noting down my ideas about religion and civilization, a thought struck my mind. I give expression to that thought

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(49) Read f. n. no. 43 above.

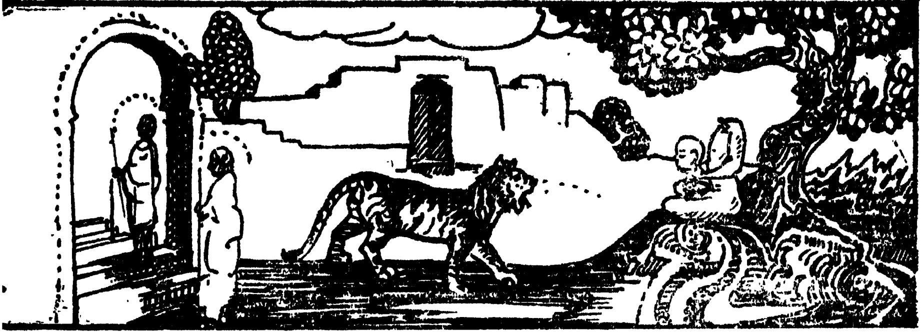
(50) Vol. I, Chap. I.

(51) For the truth of this statement vide vol. I, pp. 6 and seq. and vol. I, pp. 239 to 243.

(52) The Second Jaina Yuvak Conference was held at Rājkot some 2 years ago. The chairman said that the term "Jain" had a limited sense. It is possible that this statement was made after taking into consideration the conditions prevailing at present. Otherwise the term has no limited sense in that way.

here, and leave the rest to my reader's judgement. We have seen that there were originally two religious cults, namely, Brahminism and Jainism. Then, the Vedas were recomposed, and much Vedic literature was written in about 9th and 10th centuries B. C. Since then. the Brahmin cult became known as the Vedic cult. Later on—after nearly four centuries—a third religion came into existence. That was Buddhism. We know that only a prophet of the first class order can originate a new faith with a new cult. He is always very highly intellectual, and a deep scholar who has critically gone through the literatures of all existing cults. If we look deep into the literatures and cultural bases of these three religions, it will clearly become evident to us that Brahminism has absorbed and made its own, much of the other two religions, namely, Jainism and Bhuddhism. History is rich in instances supporting this contention. It is, however, not found anywhere that Jainism and Buddhism borrowed anything from Brahminism. This shows that the Brahmina priests must have found their religious doctrines rather stale, and hence must have been eager to look for fresh things elsewhere. One thing that should be noted here, is that nothing either of Jainism and Buddhism was forced upon Brahminism, because the kings who followed any of these two faiths were always tolerant in religious matters and allowed their subjects full religious liberty. Aśok was a staunch Buddhist; and so was Priyadarśin a staunch Jain. But they never abused their kingly power by forcing their own religion on unwilling subjects. As regards Brahminism, things are quite different. Many Brahmina kings forced their subjects to embrace Brahminism and ruthlessly persecuted those who followed other faiths. The rule of the Śungas is a notorious example of this kind of religious coercion.

Another idea



Chapter VI

Appendixes

Synopsis:—*The reason why this whole chapter is devoted to appendixes.*

Appendix I:—*(1) Mathurā:— Its site, ancient and modern; details about the Lion Capital Pillar and the purpose of its erection; the religion to which the civilization of the place belongs; the possible time of its destruction; some details about the remants of Mathurā.*

Appendix II:—*(2) Takṣilā:—Theories about its origin and discussion about them; details about its antiquity; its ruin due to political causes; its modern condition and the causes of that condition; the University there.*

The religion that was followed by the people of both these cities.

The account of the Kṣaharāṭs given in the fore-going pages, must have convinced the readers that they were highly religious-minded. Many events that took place during their rule have religion as their cause. The seats of their capitals—Mathurā and Takṣila—were also important religious places. Hence, they have figured prominently in the history of these people. Details about them have historical importance. Some of them have been incidentally given in the accounts of the Kṣaharāṭs. A connected account of both the cities is given here with a view that the readers may have a proper idea about them. The account has been given in the form of appendixes, because, I thought, it would not be quite proper to include it within the book proper, where we are mainly concerned with accounts of kings, ministers and religious prophets. A separate chapter has been devoted to them because the number of pages devoted to them, constitutes the ordinary size of the chapters of this book.

APPENDIX I

MATHURĀ

General description

The city has lost much of its former glory and prospetity. It is at present a holy place of the devotees of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa[1] and hence it is called " Mathurājee ",—" jee " being a term denoting respect. The city had had many ups and downs in course of time. In former times, it was the seat of the capital of a dynasty and it was at the height of prosperity. In matters, social, political and economic, it held a unique place in those times. From the view point of religion, its career was equally bright. So, an account of Mathurā wlll be highly instructive to students of history.

It is said that the Vaiśnava sect was originated by Vallabhāchāryajee Mahārāj, after some centuries of the Christian Era had elapsed. So, in ancient times, with which we are concerned

(1) As to the difference between Vaiṣṇav and Vaiśnav, I have stated my opinion on pp. 42. f. n. no. 24.

(The terms are used as synonyms in our own times).

here, it was not[2] a holy place of the Vaiśṇavs. It may have had some associations with the Vedic religion from which the sect branched, though there is no historical evidence available in support of this. As regards the city's possible connection with Buddhism, we have already quoted an extract from Prof. Rhys Davids, on pp. 191, f. n. no. 33, in the account of the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs. The extract leads us to conclude that Mathurā must have risen to prosperity during the period of 350 years that intervened between the life-time of Buddha and the life-time of Menander. But this theory is based on literary evidence; and we know that literary evidence is not always reliable and is seldom accepted as such by historical authorities. They would like this evidence to be supported and consolidated by coins and rock-inscriptions. Several books, treatises and articles have been published on Mathurā. The archeologists have published "Mathurā and Its Antiquities[3]." Readers know it clearly that of these publications, only those are reliable which are written by archeological experts and research scholars of well-established repute and probity. Such experts and scholars unanimously declare that most of the stūpas and other relics of antique value are connected with Jainism. The identity of a very small number of relics has yet to be established. Again, we can prove that these relics have no connection either with the Vedic religion or with Buddhism. Hence, by the process of

(2) If we accept his theory, Mathurā became their holy place after this time.

(3) This book has been published by the Government Archeological department, in 1901.

Below is given a bibliography of literature published on Mathurā.

[i] Indian Antiquary, vol. 37, 1908.
[ii] Epigraphica Indica, vol. IX, pp. 139 and further.
[iii] "Coins of Ancient India" by Sir Cunningham.
[iv] "Purātattva" vol. II, pp. 294: published from Gujarāt Vidyāpīṭh.
[v] Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, vol. VII, pp. 341 and further.
[vi] "Gauḍavaho" (Intro. pp. 156).
[vii] "Bhārat-kā Prāchīn Rājavaṁśa." vol. II. pp. 193.
[viii] "Cambridge History of India," pp. 167; pp. 574 and further.
[ix] "Indian Antiquities," vol. II, pp. 223 and further. By Princeps.

elimination, we can prove that they belong to the remaining religion–Jainism–that existed in those times[4].

Now we turn to some details about the relics themselves. We shall try to glean things of historical value out of them.

(1) It is said[5]:—" Inscription on the Mathura Lion Capital (cir. 30[6] B. C. stating the name of the Saka[7] Satrap Patik[8]) was discovered by Pandit Bhagavanlal Indrajit in 1869; it represents two lions, reclining back to back and facing in the same direction[9]. Its style is strikingly Iranian[10]. The capital must originally have surmounted a pillar and must itself have supported some religious emblem[11]; but its purpose had long ago been forgotten and when

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(4) The Lion Capital Pillar at Mathurā belongs to Jainism. Vide chap. V, pp. 191 above. The Śunga king Agnimitra destroyed it because of his hatred of religions other than his own. (Vide his account, pp. 42; f. n. no. 24).

(5) Vide C. H. I. pp. 574.

(6) The number in the inscription is 42. (For details vide pp. 179 above). It has been erroneously taken to represent the Śaka era, which is said to have been begun in A. D. 78. So, calculating back, 42 would be equal to B. C. 36. The year given above in Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's extract is based on this theory otherwise the figure 42 is really B. C. 117.

(7) In transliteration certain letters of the Sanskṛt alphabet are written in a certain manner. These signs, however, are seldom found in printing presses. So, the letters in the above-given extract do not have any signs.

(8) Scholars have not seriously tried to trace the races of these foreign chiefs. Or, if they have tried, they do not seem to have met with much success. So, they have erroneously stated that Pātik was a Śaka chief. Truly speaking, he belongs to the Kṣaharāṭa race. (We shall see later on that there existed blood–relationship between the Kṣaharāṭs and the Śakas.

(9) The lions face the same direction. Their sides touch each other in a parallel manner, either from east to west or from north to south. There exists no angle between their bodies.

(10) In the same way, the Sāranāth Stūpa has been stated to have been a model of either Greek or Egyptian art. The fact, however, is that both Greece and Egypt are indebted to India for the cultivation of art among them. All these details have been stated in the account of Priyadarśin. Vide vol. II, pp. 278, 292, 336–38. See the index at the end of vol. II, and find out "Sāranāth.".

(11) Dr. Bühler holds the same opinion. (Vide E. I. vol. IX, pp. 136). "The object is to record a religious donation on the part of the chief Queen of the Satarap." (For the explanation of this religious emblem read my note below).

it was discovered, it was built into steps of an altar devoted to the worship of Sitala, the Goddess of small-pox."

[Note: The Lion is the symbol of Mahāvīr, the last Jaina Tīrthaṅkar. (Vol. II. pp. 62, f. n. no. 2). At the places where Mahāvīr had to undergo difficulties while practicing pinance,— this is technically known as "Upasarga"—, emperor Priyadarśin, a staunch devotee of Mahāvīr, had got pillars erected. As marks of recognition, he got the figures of lions surmounted on them. We have stated these details in vol. II, pp. 330–31 and their f. n. nos. 43 and 44. The Lion Capital Pillar of Mathurā must be one of such pillars. In course of time, it must have fallen down and been buried in the earth. Later on, while some excavations might have been going on, it must have been taken out and then must have been built into steps of an altar devoted to the worship of the goddess as stated above.] This is only one of the many instances of Jaina relics, stūpas and temples being ascribed to other faiths out of ignorance or for want of any evidence to the contrary. Ancient history is rich in such instances. Many Jaina relics have been partly or wholly destroyed[12]; while many others have been incorporated as parts of non-Jaina temples or as parts of Muslim mosques[13]. Still many others have been transformed into idols belonging to other faiths and have been set up in non-Jaina temples[14]. Some others have been kept intact; but non-Jains have proclaimed them as belonging to their own faiths and have begun to worship them in their own way, thus changing their forms to such degree that they cannot be recognized as Jaina relics now[15]. One's heart melts with sorrowful

(12) As an example of this, see the scenes around the fortress of Devagaḍh near Gwāliar. The Voḍvā Stūpa of Mathurā is an instance of the same. (Vide the account of Agnimitra).

(13) The religious places built by the Muslim rulers of Gujarāt and Cambay are examples of this; most of them are extant to-day, giving a clear testimony of religious fanaticism.

(14) Such changes are found to have taken place during the rule of the Hindu kings in South India.

(15) I think that the famous Jagannāthpurī in east India is an instance illustrative of this statement. (For details vide vol. IV, the account of Khārvel).

compassion at the plight of a religion that was once universal and that contained within its protective fold millions of devout persons. Things have their ups and downs in course of time, and Jainism cannot be an exception to them. This world is ever changing and things have their nice, as well as sorrowful times. Otherwise, Shakespeare would not have called it a stage. So, the Lion Capital Pillar erected by Priyadarśin has undergone changes[16] with the passage of time. Hence, Dr. Bhagavānlāl Indrajit says that its original purpose had long ago been forgotten; and when it was discovered, it was built into steps of an altar devoted to the worship of Śitalā.

(2) The Kharoṣṭhi inscription, with which the surface is completely covered, associates, in the religious merit of its foundation, the donor herself, the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rajula, and all the members of her family, together with certain contemporary Sataraps governing other provinces of Saka realm and other eminent personages of the time.[17]"

[Note:—When the Chief Queen of Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul celebrated this occassion, she had invited all her relatives. All the members of the Kṣaharāṭa royal family were also invited. This shows that the occasion was of very great importance to her. So, she had invited Mahākṣatrap Bhūmak to preside over the ceremony. Again, this was a purely religious occasion. The Kṣaharāṭs were, evidently, highly religious-minded people.[18]. We have stated in their accounts that they were all followers of Jainism. All scholars have unanimously declared that the many relics at Mathurā belong to Jainism. This occasion shows that Jainism had its bright days during the rule of the Kṣaharāṭs. Again, the native-place of all these Kṣatraps was Śakasthān[19]=Śeistān.

(16) Read further this chapter.

(17) This proves that other kṣaharāṭa rulers like Nahapāṇ, the representative of Bhūmak, Mahākṣatrap Liak and Kṣatrap Pātik had provinces other than Mathurā, in their power. (Some scholars mistakenly believe that Liak was a Kṣatrap of Mathurā. Pp. 186).

(18) All these details have been given in chap. IV.

(19) I. A. vol. 37;—"Sarvas Śaka sthānas puye=In honour of the whole

(Of course, we have stated above that the Kṣaharāṭs hailed from Gamboj.) In the account of the Śakas, to be given later on, we shall prove that blood-relationships existed between the Kṣaharāṭs and the Śakas. In short, we can say that the Kṣaharāṭs were also Śakas in a way. Thus, both the Śakas and the Kśaharāṭs were followers of Jainism. They were converted to this faith by the Dhamma—mahāmātrās of Priyadarśin[20].]

(3) " It was a stronghold both of worship of Kṛṣṇa and of Jainism". (C. H. I. pp. 526). This is not the proper place to discuss which religion Kṛṣṇa followed. The question will be discussed in its proper place. It will be sufficient to state here that the first cousin of Kṛṣṇa, Neminath by name, was a Jaina Tīrthanker. Mahābhārat, which has been acclaimed by the followers of the Vedic religion as a book belonging to their faith, also contains the mention of his name. In short, Nemināth is a historically recognized personage. Is it not possible that Kṛṣṇa himself was also a Jain ? Some evidence in favour of this has been given in the account of Agnimitra (Kalki), who was a staunch follower of the Vedic faith and who had destroyed the holy places at Mathurā (vide ante. pp. 42, f. n. 24). We may, however, here rest content with the fact that Mathurā was a holy place of Jains also.

(4) "Mathura is mentioned in the Milinda as one of the most famous places in India; whereas in Buddha's time, it is barely mentioned"[21]. The writer, from whose book, the above-given extract is borrowed, is an accepted authority on Buddhist literature, especially on that part of Buddhist literature which has any bearing on ancient history. He is a Christian, and hence may be taken as impartial. He holds the opinion that though Mathurā has been described as a prosperous and famous city during the rule of

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Śakasthān or the land of the Śakas." (Dr. Bhagavānlāl Indrajit). Dr. Fleet, on the other hand, says, "In honour of his own home," i. e. he read the word "Sva" = one's own, in place of "Śaka". The purport of both the inscriptions, however, is the same.

(20) No detailed explanation need be given about this now. The rock-inscriptions of Priyadarśin state these things in a crystal clear manner.

(21) Vide pp. 37, of "The Buddhist India" by Prof. Rhys Davids.

Menanḍer (B. C. 180), who has been described as a devout follower and scholar of Buddhism,[22] in a book named " Miliṇḍā ", yet in Buddha's time it is barely mentioned. This is rather strange, as the writer himself acknowledges it to be. A famous and prosperous city like Mathurā must have been mentioned in some connection with Buddha's life, had it been really connected with Buddhism. So the author says:—" The time of its growth must have been between these dates", and stops there. The dates are, 520 B. C., the time of Buddha, and 180 B. C., the time of Menanḍer, i. e. nearly 350 years. So, he has not been able to arrive at a definite conclusion about Mathurā's growth. But now we are having in these pages a good knowledge of the things that happened during these 350 years—things which were not known during the time of Prof. Davids. This knowledge enables us to state that, had Mathurā prospered and risen to fame during these 350 years, some proofs to that effect must have been found out by us ? So we conclude that Mathurā was a prosperous and famous city even during the life-time of Buddha. We do not find any mention of it in the account of Buddha's life because it had no connection with Buddhism.

(5) " An inscription probably dated from A. D. 157 (Saka 79) mentions the Vodva Tope as " built by the gods, " which, as Buhler rightly remarks[23], proves that, it, in the 2nd century A. D. must have been of considerable age, as everything concerning its origin had been already forgotten." Prof. Jāl Carpentier, no

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(22) Does this not give rise to the doubt, that though the scholars have concluded that Menanḍer was a follower of Buddhism, yet, truly speaking he was an admirer of Jainism, like other foreigners ? His coins clearly bear Jaina signs, which have been mistakenly believed to be Buddhist signs. Things connected with Jainism have often been ascribed to other religions. Is it not possible that the same conditions prevail in the case of Menanḍer ?

[Menanḍer's must at least be a pro-Jaina faith; in support of this contention, we may state that all his Kṣatraps—Bhūmak, Rājuvul, Liak—were Jains. Menanḍer himself was born in the territory of the Kṣaharāṭ, and for the major part of his life he lived in India. So, he must at least have been sympathetically inclined towards this religion].

(23) C. H. I. pp. 167 and seq.

less authority than Dr. Būhler, says:—"Much the same religious condition as shown by the inscriptions (at Mathura) have been preserved in the Jaina church till the present day."

[Note : The rock-inscription is supposed to have been inscribed in A. D. 157. Hence it is said to be 1800 years old. If it can be proved to have been erected in the second century B. C., it would be much more older. The number on which the time is calculated is 79. It has been taken to represent the Śaka era which is said to have been begun in 78 A. D. So 79 is interpreted as 78+79=157 A. D. We have, however, proved on pp. 137 and pp. 188, that the number belongs to the Kṣaharāṭa era, which was begun in B. C. 159. Hence no. 79 would be equal to 159-79=80 B. C. This means that the time of the rock-inscription was nearly two and half centuries earlier than the time supposed by scholars. This supports our contention that the Voḍvā Stūpa was first destroyed by Agnimitra[24], whose time we have fixed up to have been B. C. 181 to 174. Nearly 75 years later, in B. C. 117, the chief Queen of Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul got it repaired and re-established at great expense and with much celebration[25]. Forty years after this, i. e. in B. C. 80, Mahākṣatrap Pātik gave up the throne of Takṣilā[26], went on a

(24) Agnimitra destroyed the Stūpa with the intention of capturing the treasure supposed to have been hoarded in it. In his times the Stūpa consisted of bricks. Jaina books state that it was first built of gold by gods in the 7th or 8th century B. C. Later on, a brick-built Stūpa was erected in place of the gold one, because the gods thought that it would become the centre of strife and war because of mankind's lust for gold. Agnimitra must have suspected the existence of a vast treasure inside.

(25) This is one more example of the devoutness of the Kṣaharāṭā chiefs. Read f. n. nos. 27 and 28 below.

(26) During the year 79, found on the Mathurā Stūpa, Mahākṣatrap Soḍās ruled over Mathurā, Pātik was simply a pilgrim. On account of both the names—Soḍās and Pātik—being stated side by side, scholars seem to have concluded that both were politically connected with Mathurā. The fact, on the other hand is, that Pātik had given up his throne and had gone there on a pilgrimage. Next year, emperor Mauses, wrested Mathurā from its ruler. Thus Soḍās' rule ended shortly after Pātik's rule. (Vide their accounts).

pilgrimage to a place where there were the ancient charity deeds inscribed on copper-plates, and established some religious relics there[27]. Then he went to Mathurā and visited the Voḍvā Stūpa. As a mark of his devotion he got an inscription inscribed there-the inscription with which we are concerned here[28].

So, now we know that the rock-incription dates from the 1st century B. C. The Stūpa was re-erected in the 2nd century B. C., some 75 years after its destruction by Agnimitra. Hence, we can accept without any hesitation Dr. Būhler's theory that it must have been originally erected in the 7th or 8th century B. C. The truth of the whole thing is thus established on the evidence of rock-inscription and at the hand of experts. Jaina books contain the same theory about this Stūpa (f. n. no. 23.) Again a scholar of repute like Jāl Carpentier emphatically declares that much the same religious conditions as shown by the inscriptions (at Mathurā) have been preserved in the Jaina church till the present day[29]. This leads us to the conclusion that the religious conditions that prevailed during the time of Pātik, i. e. B. C. 80, also prevailed in B. C. 250, during the time of Priyadarśin[30]. Otherwise the fact that the Stūpa had its origin in the 8th century B. C. would be unacceptable.

We have proved above that the Stūpa at Mathurā was first erected in the 8th century B. C. This shows that Mathurā had been a holy place of the Jains since that time. It continued to enjoy the same position till the first century B. C. and further up to 8th or 9th century A. D. Proofs in support of this contention are ample. Not only do scriptural and legendary literatures contain the mention of this fact, but a reliable non-Jaina book like

(27) Vide the account of Pātik on pp. 186. Read the details about Takṣilā, to have an idea of the sanctity of the place.

(28) For the devoutness of Pātik, vide his account; also cf. f. n. nos. from 24 to 27 above.

(29) Read the extract no. 5 above. Moreover, this contention is supported by a scholar like Prof. Jāl Carpentier. Cf. f. n. no. 30 below.

(30) Cf. f. n. no. 29 above.

Those who believe that certain facts on the rock-inscriptions of Priyadarśin do not agree with Jaina tenets, are requested to give thought to this statement.

"Gauḍavaho", which has been translated into English by that famous scholar, Dr. Hall and who has also made several direct references to it. A noteworthy incident[31] with regard to this stūpa occurred during the life-time of the royal preceptor Bappabhaṭṭisūri, the famous Jaina monk, who enjoyed, at the court of king Āmradev alias Indrāyuddha[32], the ruler of Kanoj and Gwāliar, the same status that Hemchandrāchārya enjoyed at the court of king Kumārpāl, the Solanki king of Gujarat. King Āmradev ruled from 811 to 890 of the Vikrama era, i. e. from 755 to 834 A. D. (vide Vol. I, pp. 187 f. n. 103). Once, when all the learned men had assembled at the court of Āmradev, Bappabhaṭṭisūri had a religious discussion and debate with Vākpatirāj, the famous Vedic scholar. The latter accepted his defeat and embraced Jainism. Vākpatirāj used to sit in meditation at the temple of Varāh, before he was converted to Jainism. After his conversion to Jainism, he was taken in procession to the temple of Pārśvanāth, which was near by. At this time (A. D. 826=882 of the Vikrama era), Bappabhaṭṭisūri performed a religious ceremony at the temple. The author of Gauḍavaho says in connection with this:—" He (Bappabhattisuri) placed a certain Top-image in a temple at Mathura." Readers who have a desire for details about this are requested to go through the whole book. It will make an interesting reading.

On such several historical pieces of evidence narrated in this appendix, we now come to the conclusion that Mathurā enjoyed the position of a very sacred place of the Jains, right from ancient times to the 9th century A. D. We leave the question of its subsequent destruction to scholars concerned with the history of those times. At present, there are not many Jaina temples there, nor do Jains live there. There is one Jaina temple in the bazar and there is another in the travellers' guest-house of the Jains. Mathurā of the present times is entirely different from the Mathurā of the days of yore.

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(31) Vide "Gauḍavaho," Eng. translation by Dr. Wright and Dr. Hall, Introduction, pp. 156.

(32) So Bappabhaṭṭisūri enjoyed the same status which Hemchandra enjoyed at the court of Kumārpāl.

In short, the Mathurā Stūpa was built of gold by the gods (The Voḍvā Tope built by the gods) in B. C. 877 to 777, during the time of Pārśvanāth. In course of time, conditions began to be worse. So the gods took off the gold Stūpa and erected one of bricks in the same place. That Stūpa was destroyed after the time of Mahāvīr. So, emperor Priyadarśin got a new one erected at the same place, and put a lion's figure at the top. (Or, the original Stūpa of the gods was reduced to a bad condition by Agnimitra). The remaining history of the Stūpa, we have already given above.

Geography of Mathurā

Mathurā was situated in a district called Sūrsen[33]. It was the capital of the district[34]. "Sūrsen" was also known by the name " Vajradeś "[35] and Mathurā had also another name-Madhupur[36], which is at present called Maholi. Maholi is five miles to the S. W. of the modern city of Mathurā. To distingnish it from Madurā, situated in south India, it is also called "North Mathurā"[37]. It has still another name—Tirhuṭ[38]. Moreover[39], it was the birth-place of Kṛṣṇa. The place, at present known as Potter-kuṇḍ, was a prison in those times and Kṛṣṇa was born there. At Mallapurā, a small village in the vicinity of Mathurā, Kṛṣṇa fought with and defeated the wrestlers. At a place known as Kubja's well, he cured Kubjā of her hemp. At Kanskātilā—Kankālitilā or Kans Kātilā—[40], he killed Kansa. This makes it clear that Kankālitilā is a deteriorated form of "Kanskā-tilā." At the place called Viśrāmghāṭ, he took rest after his victory.

(33) For the time and the dynasty of this king Āmradev vide vol. I, pp. 187.

(34) Vide vol. I, pp. 47.

(35) Dey's "Ancient Geography of India", pp. 54.

(36) R. A. S. B. vol. VII, pp. 341 and f. n. there.

(37) J. A. S. B. 1874, pp. 259; R. A. S. vol. VII, 1877, pp. 155.

(38) Princeps' "Indian Antiquities", vol. II, pp. 223 and f. n. there.

(39) Dey's "Ancient Geography of India", pp. 54.

(40) According to Grouse, it is the monastery of Up-gupta visited by Hu-en-Tshang the famous Chinese traveller.

Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajit says:—" The sculptural art that is found on the idols of Mathurā is seen nowhere in India except some models of Greek sculpture found near Peshavar"[41]. He means that either the Greek artists themselves carved out these idols or they were made at the hands of Indian artists trained by the Greek ones. According to my opinion, the Greek artists had come to India, not as teachers, but as pupils * eager to sit at the feet of the sculptors of India. Another writer[42] says on the authority of "Oriental", 1802, Pp. 23, 24:—"The idols found out in Mathura resemble Egyptian models in point of style and art. Especially the mark on the idols was quite Egyptian". These two passages give us to understand at least one thing: that the sculptural art of India resembled, and was equal to, that of Greece and Egypt. The question that we have to decide is whether the Indian sculptors learnt this art from the Greeks and Egyptians, or whether the latter were indebted to the former. Generally we find that when artists of two different countries met at a place in those times, the foreigners happened to be disciples and the natives were their teachers. The Greeks and the Egyptians must have come to India to learn Indian art, which was at its zenith in those times. We have already stated that of Jambūdwīp and Śākadwīp, the latter was quite uncivilized and uncultured, while the former was the centre of highest civilization and culture. This proves that the origin of Greek as well as of Egyptian art was in India. It is just possible that when Greece and Egypt were at the height of artistic culture, India may have rather been retrograde in the same, due to the influence of Time. But that happened in very ancient times, as we have already stated on Pp. 89. To think that the same conditions prevailed in the times with which we are concerned—nearly twenty-two hundred years ago—would be little short of ridiculous. We have dwelt at length upon the same point while describing the sculptural art of the lion on the Sārnāth Stūpa.

More details

(41) Vide Purātattva vol. II, pp. 294.

* Vide vol. II, pp. 340 & seq.

(42) "Pārśvanāth", printed at Surat in 1923, pp. 192.

Pandit Bhagvanlāl, like many other scholars, has committed the same mistake, namely, of thinking that India is a debtor of western nations in point of art, civilization and culture. Such mistakes are very common when we have to dive deep into the cavities of the past.

Appendix II

TAKṢILA—TAKṢAŚILĀ

Its origin

It is said in books of recent origin that Takṣilā was founded during the time of Buddha. But very ancient books also contain the mention of this city. What is the truth then ?

It was situated in Gandhār[43]. It was said to have been its capital. In the same country, was another equally prosperous city named Puṣpapur or Puruṣpur[44], which is now called Peśāvar.

According to Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Aśoka, Takṣilā was 950 miles from Pāṭliputra, the capital of Magadh, by a direct route, and something like 1000 miles (9000 stadia), by an indirect route. In Kathāsaritsāgar, it is said that it was situated on the banks of the Vitastā (Zhelum) in the Rāvalpindi district of the Punjab. At present there is seen a village named Śāhderi almost at the same place[45]. Sir Cunningham says[46]. " Shaka-Dheri or Dheri-shahan, the royal residence, is the ancient Takshila. The old fortified city, which is still surrounded by stone-walls is called Sir-Kah, which, **all the people agree in stating**, is only a slight alteration of Sir-Kat or the cut-head." Without any detailed comment on this extract, we may as well draw the reader's attention that Sir Cunningham has based his statement on legendary sort of evidence. (Note the words " All

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(43) Gandhar was the region between the rivers Kunar and Indus. (Purātattva, vol. I, pp. 52). Takṣaśilā and Puruṣpur-Peśāvar, were the two chief cities of Gāndhār.

(44) Read f. n. no. 43 above.

(45) Purātattva, vol. I, pp. 52:—" Many Stūpas and idols have been found out here by the archeological department."

(46) C. A. I. pp. 60; I. C. I. vol. I. Intro. pp. 38.

the people agree in stating.") He says further, "Cut-Head is the exact meaning of Taksha-Shir or Takha-Shir, which was the Buddhist form of the name of Taksha-shela or Taha-shila, from which the Greeks made Taxila. The change of name Taksha-shir was made to suit the legend of Buddha, having cut off his head to offer to a hungry tiger." So, the original name was Takṣa-śil; it was changed to Takṣa-Śir, in order to suit the legend of Buddha, having cut off his head for a hungry tiger.

[Note : The word Takṣa-śilā is made of "Takṣa"+"Śilā". Now "Śilā" means a boulder; but it never means "Head". The doubt is, why was it changed to suit a legend ? The same writer says elsewhere[47]:—"Hu-en-Tshang expressly states that "This is the spot where Tathagata cut off his head. Fa-Hian (A. D. 400) also states that Takshashila means, in Chinese words, "Cut-off head[48]." Other scholars also, hold the same or similar opinion on this point[49]. I draw the reader's attention to the term "Tathāgat" and to the meaning of the term "Takṣaśilā" in Chinese. Details about them will be stated later on.]

So, there is a strong belief held by scholars as well as by Chinese travellers that Takṣilā was the place where Buddha cut off his head. In ancient history, however, it often happens that a universally held opinion has to be changed in the light of irrefutable evidence to the contrary. The erroneous ascription of Priyadarśin's rock-inscriptions to Aśoka is an apt instance of this. Let us discuss this point in details.

In the extracts quoted above, I have drawn the reader's attention to several phrases and terms. The first point is that Sir Cunningham has based his conclusion on legendary evidence, which can never be taken as absolutely reliable. It is not supported by any other reliable piece of evidence. The change in name was made to suit a legend which is not always true. So, we need not take Sir Cunningham's theory very seriously. Secondly, the terms "Tathagat" and "Buddha", undoubtedly belong to the

(47) C. A. I. Intro. pp. 6.
(48) Ibid. Intro. pp. 7.
(49) R. W. W. vol. I, pp. 136 and seq.; pp. 138 and f. n. no. 45.

founder of Buddhism. But we should not forget that the term "Tathagat" was applied to him after he attained the Nirvāṇ-stage, which he did at the age of 57 according to some, and at the age of 59 according to others. He died at the age of 80. He was called "Buddhadev" only after his death. Again, the Nirvāṇ-stage is attained during human life only. Hence, the occasion of cutting off his head must have taken place sometime during the last 21 or 23 years of his life. Now, when a human being cuts off his head, he most certainly dies. Hence, Buddha's death must have taken place at Takṣilā. Then, what about the fact that he attained Parinirvāṇ—i. e. he died—at Gayā or Kuśinagar in Bihār? Did he come to life again, after cutting of his head? That is not possible. Hence, the theory that Buddha cut off his head at Takṣilā is a mere legend and nothing more. Thirdly, was a Chinese name given to an Indian city? This is improbable. If we accept it as a fact, we shall have to agree that the Chinese people were aware of the whole thing from the first—a matter of greater improbability. Buddhism reached China, centuries after the death of Buddha. If, some one argues that Indians had become familiar with Chinese names, on account of commercial contact with the Chinese and that they had given a Chinese name to one of their cities, we may as well ask, why did they prefer a Chinese name for a place so sacred to them, to an Indian one? So, the occasion of the cutting off of Buddha's head has no connection with Takṣilā.

Some one might argue that the incident may have taken place at Takṣilā during one of the former lives of Buddha and that Tathāgat or his disciples founded a city there, in commemoration of the incident. Buddha must have remembered this incident only after attaining the Nirvāṇa stage. This means that Takṣilā came into existence only after Buddha's remembering this incident of his former life. But Buddhist books tell us that even before Buddha attained the Nirvāṇa stage and got the name Tathāgat, there existed Takṣilā the capital of king Puluśāki of Kamboj. Some one might argue that there was a city there; but it bore another name before this incident took place. In answer to this we might well ask " What evidence is there in support of this? "

Do Fā-hian (A. D. 400) and Hu-en-Tśang (A. D. 640) say anything like that? Or do Mahāvaṁśa and Dīpvaṁśa, written twelve hundred years after Buddha's death, contain any reference to this? According to a Vedic book[50], " It (Takṣilā) is said to have been founded by Takṣa the son of Bharat and nephew of Rām[51]." This shows that Takṣilā is as old as the events described in Rāmāyaṇ. Jaina books tell us that Takṣilā was in existence since the time of Ṛṣabhadev, the first Tīrthaṅkar. When he entered the Jaina holy orders, he gave his own throne to his eldest son Bharat[52] and the throne of Takṣilā, second in importance, was given to Bāhubali, his second son[53]. In short, according to both these religious books, Takṣilā is a city of very ancient origin.

So we re-iterate the fact that the incident of cutting of the head has no connection with Takṣilā.

How did the city, then, get the name Takṣilā? According to the author of the "Purātattva[54]", the city got its name due to the sculptural works there. Or, it was founded by a king named Takṣak[55]. Takṣa-śilā means a carved slab of stone, or a stone of the serpent king Takṣak. According to Rev. Seal[56], there was a pond ascribed to the snake-king there. Sir Cunningham seems to support the same view. He says[57]:—"The Indians were not ignorant of stone-masonary. Takṣa-śil nagar is cut-stone-city". Again, fine models of architecture and sculpture have been found out there. The sculpture was of the time of a king named Takṣa or Takṣak. Probably this Takṣa was the son of Bharat. Was this Bharat the brother of Rām or the son of Ṛṣabhadev? We shall not discuss

(50) Dey's "Ancient Geography of India", pp. 92.

(51) F. n. no. 55 below.

(52) The Bharat of the Vedic books is a different individual from Bharat of the Jaina books. They lived at different times.

(53) Kalpa. S. Com. pp. 119.

(54) Purātattva, vol. I, pp. 52.

(55) Cf. f. n. no. 51 above.

(56) Vide R. W. W. vol. I, pp. 136:—"N. W. of the capital about 10 li (1½ miles) is the tank of Nāga-Rājā."

(57) Vide C. A. I. Intro. pp. 6.

that point at present. But one thing is certain that Takṣilā was the city having its origin in the hoary past.

Political conditions

We have stated on pp. 68–71 of vol. I that the Punjab and Kamboj (Gamboj) were under the power of king Puluśāki. He died in 550 B. C. After that the countries came under the power of the Persian empire, and remained so for next hundred years[58]. During this time, many Persian customs were adopted by the natives[59], and the Persians mixed freely with the natives. As a result of this, the Kṣaharāṭa race and the Kharoṣṭhi language came into being. (Chap. VI in this vol.). Later on, the provinces came under the power of Nand IX[60]. Chandragupta inherited the same when he ascended the throne. During the weak rule of his son, Bindusār, the native chiefs rose into rebellion, quarreled with one another, and became almost independent. (Vol. II, pp. 299). Taking advantage of this opportunity, Alexander the Great invaded India, through the Punjab. At this time Takṣilā was in a flourishing condition[61]. Mr. Vincent Smith[62], while describing the customs of the people, says:—" At the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great, the Greeks noted with interest and without disapprobation the local customs, which included polygamy, the exposure of the dead to be devoured by vultures and the sale in the open markets of maidens who had failed to secure husbands in the ordinary

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(58) J. O. B. R. S. vol. I, pp. 107; f. n. no. 121:—"But Takṣilā ceased to be a Hindu capital about B. C. 505; for it was then or there–about, that it passed under the rule of Darius." [Punjab had been conquered by Cyrus, the predecessor of Darius. Scholars do not know this, and hence the mistake.]

(59) Read f. n. no. 64 below.

(60) C. A. I. pp. 65. Sir Cunningham, while describing the coins of Takṣilā, says:—"As all these coins were found together, they must have been current at the same time, but as the greater number are of the Indian standard, I infer that they must belong to the indigenous coinage prior to the Greek occupation." [This means that the coins were struck prior to the time of Alexander. Vide vol. II. Coins nos. 1, 2, 3.]

(61) Purātattva, vol. I. pp. 52:—"At the time when Alexander invaded India, Takṣilā was a thriving and prosperous city,"

(62) Vide E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 154.

course[63]. Exposures of the dead to be devoured by vultures was, and still is[64], a Persian custom. (Herod I. pp. 140). It is practised to this day in Tibeṭ and was in ancient times the usage of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśāli, who appear to have been either Tibeṭans or a cognate people. (Ind. Ant. 1903, pp. 233)[65]. This shows that at the time of the invasion of Alexānder, the social life of these countries was more under the influence of Persian civilization than under the Āryan one, which ruled supreme over the rest of India. When Alexānder returned home, the political conditions of the provinces underwent a change. Mr. Vincent Smith says[66]:— " When Alexānder the Great left India, he made over Takṣilā to king Āmbhi of Takṣilā and the Punjab to king Porus; and left no Macedonian garrisons in these provinces." The Greek customs had practically no influence on the social life of these provinces. On the contrary, by the time when Seleucus Necator gave his daughter in marriage to Aśok, the Yavans residing in the provinces had adopted and absorbed much of Āryan civilization[67]. Aśok's grandson, Priyadarśin sent Dharma-mahāmātrās, right upto Syria and Turkey, and once more, Āryan civilization ruled supreme upon all these provinces. As a proof of this, we have the Stūpas in Māṇikyal, in the far west of the Punjab, erected by Priyadarśin[68]; the coins of Priyadarśin, bearing the elephant, the symbol of Priyadarśin[69], are also found in these provinces. After Priyadarśin's

(63) Ibid; pp. 154; f. n. no. 2.

(64) The Pārsis of India have this custom at present. Read f. n. no. 59 above. It was the result of the Persian rule over the province.

(65) The writer should have given some evidence in support of the contention that the custom was prevalent among the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī. It is true that they were of Tibeṭan origin and are considered as yellow people. The Tibeṭans, the Mongolians and the Lichchhavis must have had a common origin. (Cf. the details about Jambūdwīp in chap. I, Part VI).

(66) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 115.

(67) Vol. II, pp. 341. Extracts of H. H. are given there.

(68) Vol. II, pp. 5. f. n. no. 10; pp. 33 and pp. 311, f. n. no. 89.

(69) C. A. I. pp. 61:—"Double-die coins with elephant and lion are very common, not only in the western Punjab but also in the Kabul valley etc." pp. 62:—"A large coin was found in a stupa at Ushker (Kashmir)."

death, the Mauryan empire sped its way towards decline. Hoards of foreigners, like the Śakas, the Pārthians and the Yonas, began to swarm India. In the battles that were fought, Takṣaśilā must have been destroyed.

The manner of its destruction

The fact that the coins of Priyadarśin are found at the place, proves that the city was in existence during the life-time of that emperor. Little is known as to what became of it after that. A writer[70] says:—"Two ornamental designs of Mauryan times are extant to-day. They are found in a place called "Bhid" which was in Takṣila. There are also there, a coin of Demetrius and some rings of ancient design. These specimens of the Mauryan times are very beautiful. Except these, no other relics of those times are found in Takṣila." So, the city must have been destroyed sometimes between B. C. 236, when Priyadarśin died, and B. C. 202, when the Bactrian chief Demetrius made Śākal"[71] (Śiālkoṭ) the seat of his capital. Had Takṣilā been in existence in B. C. 202, Demetrius would never have made any other city in the Punjab, the seat of his capital. If some one argues that he preferred Śākal—a very small town—to Takṣilā, the most flourishing town, because the former was situated at a strategic point on the borders of the Punjab,—a point from which he could keep a vigilant eye on rival neighbouring chiefs, we might answer that he would have met the situation effectively by garrisoning the place with a strong army. He would never have given up Takṣilā for this reason. Again, Takṣilā's position was not a corner one, so that Demetrius might be at a difficulty in times of war. Even at present, we see that strategic points on borders are effectively defended by maintaining strong armies and fortifications there. All these things lead us to the conclusion that Takṣilā's destruction took place sometime between B. C. 236 and B. C. 202.

What was the cause of its destruction? It may have been due to a calamity of Nature: a deluge, a great fire, or an earthquake.

(70) "Mauryan Sāmrājya-kā Itihās," pp. 596.

(71) Vide ante. the account of Demetrius; pp. 104.

The ruins of the city enable us to state that neither fire nor a deluge had anything to do with its destruction. Nor are any proofs available to the effect that an earthquake was the cause of its ruin. Was it, then, due to some human agency? The history of those times contains no mention of any gigantic battle which might have caused its wholesale destruction[72]. A battle may have taken place between Euthidemos, Demetrius' father and some Indian king, when the former invaded the Punjab. The king in question may have been a local one, or the Mauryan emperor, or the king of Kāśmir. The local king is out of question, because Euthidemos, a powerful chief with a large army, could have easily defeated him. Moreover, a petty local king would not have dared to raise arms against such a powerful chief, and thus voluntarily invited his own ruin. The Mauryan empire was on its way to rapid decline, and as such, it is also out of question. Again, it was too far from the Punjab to have an effective control over affairs there. We have stated in Appendix D at the end of vol. II, (pp. 360 & seq.) that Vṛṣabhasen succeeded Priyadarśin on the throne. His younger brother, Jālauk by name, being dissatisfied with the weak rule of his elder brother, established an independent kingdom in Kāśmir. During the 26 years of his rule, he had conquered all territory upto Kanoj and had driven out the Mlechchhas from these parts. He must have crossed the whole of the Punjab in his attempt to march upon Kanoj, and must have consequently, subdued a strip of the country including Takṣilā. But he must never have entertained the thought of destroying Takṣilā. On the contrary, he must have tried his best to enhance its prosperous condition. Hence, the city must have been destroyed by the Yonas. They had no permanent interest in India, and being greedy of the spoils of war and of plunder, they must have destroyed the city and taken away all valuable things out of it.

Of course, the final decision on the point—what was the cause of Takṣilā's destruction—has yet to be reached.

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(72) It has been proved that Takṣilā had a stone-wall around it; vide pp. 212. Sir Cunningham's extract is given there.

There were two university-towns in ancient India. One was the university town of Nālandā in Magadh, and the second was that of Takṣilā. Having seen the superior condition of Takṣilā University, Nand IX made suitable changes at Nālandā[73]. No book of those times contains any description of the method in which education was imparted at these universities; nor do we get any details about the courses taught by them. Thanks to the efforts of some western scholars, we now know something about them. Mr. Vincent Smith says[74]:—"It had a special reputation as the head quarters of Hindu learning. The sons of peoples of all the upper classes, chiefs, Brahmins and merchants flocked to Taxila, as to a university town, in order to study the circle of Indian arts and sciences, especially the medicine[75]. The territory surrounding the capital was rich and populous." Another writer says:—" The age for entrance to the university was 16[76]. Students flocked there from all parts of the country. Some of them were princes and sons of rich men, while some of them were poor. Each professor had 100 to 500 students under his care. The number of professors was large and they were well-versed in their subjects. The Sudras were not admitted there. Some, however, managed to attend the courses there in-cognito." The fact that medical science was given more importance at this university, shows that the influence of Persian culture had been pretty strong upon Takṣilā. We know that Gāndhār was under Persian domination for nearly a century. And the Persian medical science was far advanced. It was known as the Unānī system. It was as comprehensive as the Āryan medical science. We have no means to decide whether the Āryan medical science owes its existence to the Persian one or vice versa. Neither need we enter into a

The university at Takṣilā

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(73) Vol. I, Account of Nand IX, pp. 330 and seq.

(74) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 154.

(75) Purātattva, vol, I, pp. 51:—"The fame of Takṣilā had reached distant countries, on account of its medical courses."

(76) Vol. I and vol. II. Boys came to majority at the age of 13 in those times. So 16 must have been the entrance age for post-graduate courses.

detailed discussion about it. The probability is that the Āryan system was the mother of the Unānī system, just as the Āryan culture was the fountain-head of all the cultures of the world.

The religion there

The reader will see that we have adopted the custom of stating something at the end of the chapter about the religion of the people, whose account has been given in the previous pages. Some one might argue that a historical book should mainly confine itself to political events and personages. It should not be stuffed with religious details. But history has a much wider connotation. It means a comprehensive account of the people concerned. No side of their lives should remain untouched. And religion is not an unimportant side. Religion has much to do with the other facts of a nation's life. It is religion that cultivates intimate and lasting relations between the ruler and the ruled. It always exerts a deep influence on the lives of the people. No account of a nation would be complete without some details about the religion that was followed there. The religious side of a nation's history is as important as its political, social and economic sides, and no historian worth the name, can afford to ignore it. Of course, he should not dwell upon it with a view to propaganda or any other thing of the same sort.[77] He should give an impartial account

(77) Many a time have I tried to explain that religion and community are different concepts. Society is divided into various classes according to occupations. These classes are subdivided into castes and sub-castes for the sake of professional convenience, or due to narrow-mindedness and ignorance of the people. (I have dwelt at length on this point in vol. I, pp. 25 to 28 and 31; pp. 261 and 315 to 319; and vol. III, ante. pp. 194-98).

The classification of society into various communities is due to economic, political and social necessities and contigencies. Sometimes a community is synonymous with a guild, i. e. all the members of that community follow only one profession.

Religion, on the other hand, is quite a different thing. It represents civilization and culture of the times, and its aim is to point out the way to the best kind of life that can be led on this globe. It has nothing to do with communities or classes or guilds or castes and sub-castes. A man may belong to any caste or class, and he can follow any religion, which appeals most to the spiritual element in him. This distinction between community

of it. Some readers are so suspicious and prejudicial in thought that whenever they find an author writing about religion; they at once begin to think that he is doing so with a propagandist aim. Such readers ought to understand that no good historian even entertains any such foolish idea in his mind, and that if he does so, he is doing a great disservice to himself and a great injustice to the worthy dead. A good historian always sticks to what he thinks to be true, irrespective of the impression that his statements might create on his readers. He sacrifices every thing at the altar of truth, because to him history is inseparably united with truth.

We know that the province of Gāndhār was first under the rule of Pulusāki. After his death it passed from one empire to another; the Persian, the Nanda and the Mauryan. Then Alexānder invaded it and after him it came under the power of the Yons and the Kṣaharāṭs respectively. Thus Takṣilā was under the rule of various empires and dynasties from the 7th century B. C. to the 1st century B. C. The Persian emperors ruled it, not personally, but through governors. Hence their rule did not much affect either religious or social life of the people. Of course, it was during Persian domination that the Kharoṣṭhī language came into being. The rule of the Yons over the province lasted for nearly half a century. But nothing definite is known either about their culture or about their religion. So, their influence upon the people of the province must have been negligible. The remaining rulers of the province, namely, the Nandas, the Mauryas and the Kṣaharāṭs,

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and religion must be crystal clear in our minds. A clear conception of it would put an end to many communal clashes that take place at present.

Originally there were only two religions, namely, the Vedic religion and Jainism. All other religions and creeds are of later origin.

At present the condition is that Hindu hates the very idea of embracing Islām and vice versa. Such narrow mentality exists to-day.

All other religions of the world have branched from the two original religions, namely, the Vedic religion and Jainism. The sooner the world gets rid of this multitude of religions, the better for the human beings that have the fortune or the misfortune to be born in it.

were Jains. Only Aśok was a Buddhist; but the Punjab was not a part of his empire. At the fag end of his life, he had conquered the southern portion of the Punjab[78]. So, Buddhism had almost nothing to do with the people of this province. So, we come to the conclusion that out of six hundred years from 7th century B. C. to 1st century B. C., Jainism was prevalent among the people for more than four hundred years. This statement is based on the evidence of coins. Again, the name of Pārśwnāth, the twentythird Jaina Tīrthankar, who lived in the 8th century B. C., is found in the Stūpas of Takṣilā and Maṇikyāl[79]. This leads us to conclude that even during the 8th and 9th centuries, the province must have been predominantly under Jaina influence.[80] One of the stūpas also contains the Dharmachakra (The Wheel of the Law)[81], together with the name of Pārśvanāth. It is undoubtedly a Jaina symbol. It has no connection with Buddhism[82]. This statement is supported by Jaina books. They state that "Dharmachakratīrth" or "Chakratīrth" was but another name of Takṣilā[83]. In short, Takṣilā was a centre of Jainism right from the

(78) His time, really speaking, is from B. C. 330 to B. C. 303=27½ years. In B. C. 317, Poros was murdered and the Yavana representative, Euthidemos, fled from India. Then Punjab had some peace. (Vide vol. II. chronology on pp. 221). This means that it was only after B. C. 316 that Aśoka's power there had a somewhat sound basis. (For details, vide vol. II. pp. 395 and seq).

(79) Vide vol. II, pp. 5, f. n. no. 10; pp. 33 and pp. 311, f. n. no. 89.

(80) Cf. f. n. no. 82 below.

(81) Read f. n. nos. 84 and 85 below.

(82) Read matter connected with f. n. no. 80 above. Vide vol. II. Coins nos. 35 & 36. Vol. II, pp. 50-59 and f. n. nos. there.

(83) "Jain" Silver Jubilee Number, pp. 42 and f. n. no. 3 there. A verse is quote there. It is given below. It contains names of Jaina holy places:—

"Champārājagṛhe cha Chakramathurā,
Joddhāpratiṣṭhānage;
Vande Swarṇagirao tathā Surgirao,
Śrīdevkepaṭṭne;
Hastoḍipurī Pāḍalādaspure,
Chārup Punchāsare,
Vande Śrī Karṇātake Śivapure,
Nāgdrahe Nāṇake."

9th century B. C. to the 1st century B. C. Then it was destroyed. Prof. Rapson, an expert on coins, says[84]:—" The wheel of the Law is a symbol of the Buddhist faith,[85] which was professed by the Satarpal families of Taxila and Mathura." The statement is quite true except the fact that Dharmachakra is a Jaina sign. Many Jaina signs have been likewise wrongly stated to have been Buddhist signs.[86]

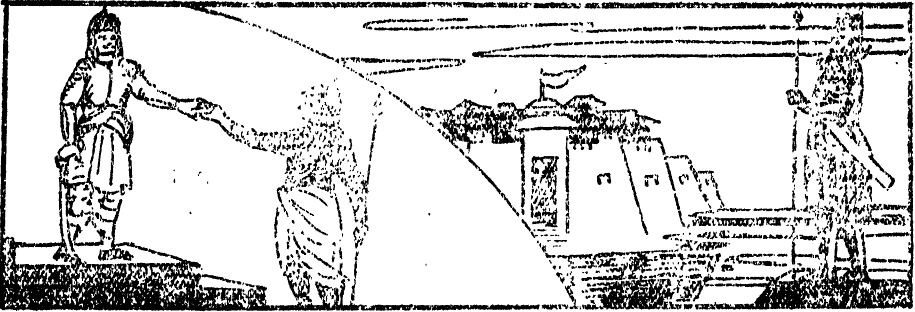
The writer states that "Chakra" means the ancient "Dharmachakra" of Takṣilā.

(84) C. A. R. paragraph 87.

(85) Many Jaina symbols have been mistakenly taken to represent Buddhism. This is one of the examples.

(For details vide vol. II. chap. II. pp. 50 and seq.) Cf. f. n. no. 86 and the matter connected with it.

(86) Read f. n. no. 85; a reference to this is made in chap. V, pp. 190 in the paragraph entitled " The religion of the Kṣaharāṭs."



Chapter VII

Foreign Invaders (Contd.)

Synopsis:—*Persians, Pārthians, Pahlavas and Pallavas:—details about them—each distinguished from others—the origin of the Pallavas—Drāviḍian literature and references to it—Were these people Āryans or non-Āryans? Was there any relation between Ṛṣi and Pārsī—The connection of the Pahlavas with Indian History—Mistakes committed by historians through their misunderstanding about the Pārthians and the Śakas.*

(C) PERSIANS, PĀRTHIANS OR PAHLAVAS.

Having finished the account of the Yons and of the Kṣāharāṭs, we now turn to the Pārthians. Their home was Persia and Persia is also named Pārad. Hence they are called Persians or Pārthians. Again, their mother-tongue was Pahlavi. So their third name was Pahlavas. Those of the Pārthians who settled in India were called Indo-Pārthians in order to differentiate them from those Pārthians, who remained in the motherland. Another name ascribed to them is Pallavas. Western scholars cannot, naturally enough, be very particular about slight differences of pronunciations[1]. So, they have fixed up that Pallavas was but another name of Pahlavas, just as they fixed up that Sandrecottus was none other than Chandragupta, because of the similarity of pronunciations.

Their names

All history books uniformly refer to Pallavas and Pahlavas as the names of the same race, just as they do in the case of yavans and yons. The fact, on the other hand, is that they represent different races having different origins. In the paragraph above, we have stated two reasons for this misunderstanding. The third reason is, that historians have got into the habit of thinking that, no definite details are available about these foreign races and that they should not bother themselves much about those, who were, after all, foreigners. So, if one historian happened to fix up certain conclusions about these peoples, all others have accepted those conclusions as true, without taking the trouble of verifying them. The same thing happened about the rock-inscriptions ascribed to Aśoka.

Distinction between Pallavas and Pahlavas

The Pārthians are also called Pahlavas from the name of of the language spoken by them, namely, Pahlavi. The Pallavas, on the other hand, have been stated to have been rulers of certain

(1) J. S. I. pp. 142:—"The origin of the Pallavas is even to-day considered a mystery. It is one of the many unsolved problems of Indian history."

[Note : In volumes I and II, I have tried to solve this "problem;" I think, to the satisfaction of readers.]

districts in the area now known as Madras Presidency. Suppose that Pahlavas and Pallavas are two different names of the same race, a branch of which settled in north India and another branch of which settled in south India. When did they come to India ? and by what route ? If they came by land-route, they must have first crossed Afghanistan and then the Punjab. Then they might have gone anywhere in India. If they came by sea-route, they must have landed in Baluchistan, after having crossed the Persian gulf. Then they must have come to the Indus delta, and from thence must have proceeded southwards through the Arabian Sea, to land at a port of Saurāṣṭra.

History tells us that Persian domination over certain parts of India was first established during the time of Cyrus the Great and of Darius. But at that time the Pārthians did not settle in India. They kept only trade relations with India. So, there is no question of the Pahlavas settling in India at that time. It was after the invasion of Alexander the Great, that foreigners began to swarm India with a view to settle here forever. This shows that India was for the first time invaded by foreigners, by land-route, with a view to settle in the land, in B. C. 325 or there about. By sea, the foreigners first landed in India in B. C. 60. In that year, the Śakas were invited to fight against the Garda-bhila king of Avantī. The Śakas, as we know, were a people different from the Pahlavas. Suppose that some Pahlavas also came to India with the Śakas at that time. Even then, we can definitely state that foreigners first came to India-by land or by sea-at least not before B. C. 325.

Let us now have a look at the history of the Pallavas. We find that the Pallava chiefs held responsible positions during the times of Chandragupta and Aśoka. It has been stated in the Sudarśan-lake inscription that the governor who got it built, was a Pallava chief, Viśākh by name.[2] This is evidence based on an

(2) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 32:—Mr. Rapson says that this Viśākh was a governor appointed by Kṣatrap Rudradāman. So, his time has been fixed up as the 2nd century B. C. But it is clearly stated in the inscription that the governor there had first got the dam built during the rule of Chandragupta.

inscription. Legend tells us that one of the queens of Khārvel was a princess of the royal family of Baluchistan or of Persia. Taking for granted that the Pallavas were Persians, we shall have to accept that they came to India as early as B. C. 425. (The time of Khārvel–see his account). The time of Viśākh also was about B. C. 325. Now, the people who held responsible positions during 425 B. C. to 325 B. C. must have settled in India long before that time. This is in conflict with the fact that no foreigners ever crossed the borders of India before 325 B. C. Hence we come to the conclusion that the Pallavas are different from the Pahlavas. The former were in India long before 425 B. C.; while the latter came to India at least after 325 B. C.

Who were these Pallavas ? What was their origin ? It is stated in history books that Pallava chiefs held responsible positions during the times of Chandragupta and Aśoka. This makes it clear that their origin must have been much earlier, or at least at the time of Chandragupta. On pp. 144 of "Studies in Jainism in South India", it is stated:—"Pallavas is one of the main branches of Tirayar caste and therefore styled as Pallava Tirayar and they were known to early Sangama literature by their group-name Tirayar; but as their power and influence increased in the land, their branch name Pallava Tirayar assumed greater importance." So, the Pallavas were in existence during the Saṅgam age.[3] What was the period, included by Saṅgam age ? Unfortunately, southern scholars have not come to any definite conclusions about it. It is, however, tentatively supposed that the Saṅgam age was the time after the rule of Chandragupta. Be that as it may, it becomes crystal clear that the origin of the Pallavas was as early as B. C. 4th century, or, at least, the beginning of B. C. 3rd century.

Then it was repaired by Viśākh, during the time of Aśoka. Many such misunderstandings exist about the inscription at the Sudarśan-dam. For details vide vol. II, pp. 352 to 355 and further in the account of Rudradāman, later on.

(3) According to Drāviḍian literature, the ancient age is divided into three periods. One of the periods is called "Sangam".

Some extracts from the scholars of repute are given below. They do not contain direct mention of the Pallavas. Yet they do contain indirect references to them. Prof. S. Kṛṣṇasvāmi Āyyangar, Professor of History at the Madras University, says, while describing the conquests of the Mauryas in south India,[4] " The Mauryas carried their invasions to the south of India. They were in hostile occupation of forts in the northern borders of the Tamil land. The Aryans were beaten back when the central Mauryan power became feeble; and their dislodgements from the south must be referred to a period which included that of Mamulnar and others of the Third Tamil Academy[5] of Madura " This extract gives us to understand that the Mauryas had settled in south India long before the time of Mamulnar. The same writer[6] states elsewhere, in connection wtih the conquest of the fortresses of the Mohooras by the Mauryas[7], " Another author Parankorranar also attests the coming in of Mauryas to the distant country of south India; so also does Attiraiyanar "[8]. The author of J. S. I.[9] having quoted Prof. Āyyangar, says:–" Prof. Ayyangar thinks that this conquest of the Mauryas in the south took place during the reign of Bindusar " [We may note here that the name of "Bindusār" has been given here as a successor of Sandrecottus, and it was a common belief that Sandrecottus was but another name of Chandragupta. Now, we have proved that Sandrecottus

(4) "Studies in Jainism in South India", pp. 126. The subject is discussed in details in "Beginnings of South Indian History". The author of the former treatise seems to have based his conclusions on the latter book.

(5) The "Academy" time is also considered as one of the "Periods" in Drāviḍian literature. By "Period", Drāviḍian writers meant transition from age in literature to another. The "Academy" time was the third "period". So, "Sangam" must have been either the first or the second "period". The "Sangam" period thus preceded the time of Māmulnār.

(6) Vide J. S. I. pp. 128.

(7) J. S. I. pp. 128:—"Mohoor whose territory was attacked by the Mauryans in the course of their southward march." The Mauryas, during their onward march to the south, conquered these fortresses on the way.

(8) They are all Tamil scholars.

(9) Vide J. S. I. pp. 129.

was not another name of Chandragupta but of Aśoka. So, his successor was his grandson, Priyadarśin. Hence conquest of the Mauryas in the far south took place during the rule of Priyadarśin.[10]]. Tamil writers have called these victors "Vamba Moriar = New Mauryas." One of the writers says:—"They were an imperial race, who undertook a great south Indian invasion". Thus the old Mauryas—i. e. those who came here during the time of Chandragupta—and the new Mauryas—i. e. those who came during the time of Priyadarśin—were scions of the ruling family at Magadh. At the time of both[11] the invasions, some of them settled for good in south India. Those who settled earlier were called old Mauryas, and those who settled later were called new Mauryas.[12]

All these extracts lead us to the conclusion that by the time of Māmulnār, the Mauryas had long settled in the south and that the name "Pallava" had been long current there. So their origin and rise must be fixed much earlier than the time of

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(10) We have made a statement to the same effect in vol. II, (Vide the accounts of Priyadarśin and of Chandragupta). Chandragupta had conquered the territory including Śravaṇ Belgol, now in the Mysore State. Priyadarśin advanced much further and conquered much territory in the south.

(11) Cf. f. n. no. 10 above, and the matter connected with it.

(12) Some scholars are led to believe that the new Mauryas went southwards during the time of Samudragupta. They hold the opinion that Chandragupta Maurya never led any invasion in the South. (But, then, how can we explain the death of Chandragupta Maurya near Śravaṇ Belgol, at Mt. Chandragiri? What about the rock-inscriptions erected there by Priyadarśin? It is true that Samudragupta, the grandson of Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty, did conquer southern India. So they think that the new Mauryas settled in the south during the time of Samudragupta, and that the old Mauryas settled in the south during the time of his grandfather Chandragupta. These scholars have quoted Dr. Fleet, (Bombay Gazetteer, vol. I, part 2, pp. 579) in support of their contention; "They evidently identified the early Guptas—king Chandragupta or his grandson of the same name—with the far well known Mauryan Emperor King Chandragupta".

[My notes: Why should the Guptas identify themselves with the Mauryas? What was the specific reason for that, if any? Why are the scholars silent on this point?]

Māmulnār. We need not bother ourselves with the question of the interval that elapsed between the rise of these people and the time of the Mauryas[13]. We have stated in Vol. I, that the kings of the Śiśunāga dynasty and of the Maurya dynasty belonged to the Licchavi clan, which itself was a branch of the Vrijis. The "Vriji" included within it, clans like "Pallava", "Kadamb", "Pāṇḍya", "Cholā", "Malla", "Maurya" etc. Hence it is clear that the "Pallavas" constituted a branch of the Vriji family and were quite different from the Pahlavas.

In the extracts quoted above, the term "Pallava" is not directly mentioned. But the attentive reader will see that they all allude to it. One more piece of evidence, based on coins, may be given here. We have stated in the description of coin No. 81, in Vol. II, that that coin was minted by a Pallava king, according to the opinion of Mr. Eliot, while according to my opinion it was minted either by the Āndhra king or by Priyadarśin. The coin bears the symbol "Cross & Ball" (Vol. II, pp. 51). It is an old coin, connected with a king of Avantī. Now, no Āndhra king ever became the king of Avantī or ever subdued the region now called the Coromandal Coast. So, we conclude that it was struck during the time of Priyadarśin, by a Pallava king. (This Pallava king was not an independent ruler, as Mr. Eliot supposes him to have been, but he was a vassal of the king of Avantī). A writer says:—"The Pallava kings of Kanchi had an emblem on their coins, a ship with two masts. This explains their connection with sea. They were also connected with Naga princes. [By "Nāga", the writer probably means the princes of the Śiśunāga and the Nanda dynasties.] This shows that the Pallavas belong to the Śiśunāga family. According to my opinion, king Udayāśva of the Śiśunāga dynasty directly descended from the Licchavi clan

(13) In vol. I, we have said in the account of emperor Udayāśva of the Śiśunāga dynasty that his heir-apparent Anuruddha had invaded and conquered Ceylon and had founded a city there, Anuruddhapur by name. On his return he had appointed some of his relatives to look after the conquered territory. These relatives were Pallavas, Kadambas, Pāṇḍyās, Cholās and others. This contention is now supported by Tāmil literature.

while the Pallavas were a sub-clan from the Licchavis (read f. n. no. 13 above).

Another probability is that the Pallavas were connected with the family to which Priyadarśin belonged. We know that the Mauryas invaded south India twice,—once during the time of Chandragupta, and second time, during the rule of Priyadarśin. The new Mauryas probably called themselves an offshoot of the old Mauryas and we know that the Sanskṛt term for an off-shoot is "Pallava".

The Pallava kings consolidated their power in the south, in course of time. Their dynasty passed through many ups and downs. The present king of Pudukoṭā, is a member of the Pallava family. In the same way, the Cholā kings-kings of Konjeevaram[14] -also belonged to the Pallava family. Mr. Vincent Smith[15], says:- "Petty Maurya dynasties apparently connected in some unknown way with the imperial line, ruled in Konkan,[16] between the Western Ghats and the sea and some other parts of western India during the 6th, 7th, and 8th, centuries and are frequently mentioned in the inscription". The Licchavis and the Mauryas were all followers of Jainism. So were the Pallavas. In course of time, however, the influence of the followers of the Śaiva sect under the banner of Śankarāchārya, the abbot of Śārdā, began to take greater and tighter hold of this area. Many ministers of the Pallava kings were Śaivites. Once, a Cholā king, who was a Jain and whose queen was also a Jain, was persuaded to marry with the princess of a Śaivite family, after the death of the Jaina queen, by his prime-minister. Consequently, the king was converted

(14) H. H. pp. 641:—"Conjeevaram, the capital of the Pallavas".

(15) E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 195.

(16) We have stated that the Kadambas were a branch of the Lichchhavī kṣatriyas. (F. n. no. 13 above). The territory under their rule was Aparānt, now called Konkaṇ. Mr. Vincent Smith is of the same opinion. Minaldevī, the mother of Siddharāj, the famous Solankī king of Gujarāt, was a princess of the Kadamba family. The Kadambas were followers of Jainism. For this reason, the territory under their power, is described as "Bordering lands" in the inscriptions of Priyadarśin. (Vide their account).

to Śaivism and led away by the insinuation of a Śaiva monk, Appār by name, he drove out all the Jains from his territory. A historian of south India says:-[17]" Jains were driven out of the Pallava country by Appār (Śaiva saint) in or about 750 A. D., though they were not rooted out of the Chola country ". In the famous fortresses of Ārcoṭ, we find pictures showing the massacre of the Jains by the Śaivites.

In short, the Pallavas were not foreigners as the Pahlavas were. They are a branch of the Vriji–Licchavi family. They were not in any way connected with the Pahlavas who hailed from Persia. Their home was the territory on the south of the Kṛṣṇā. Originally they were Jains, but in the 8th century A. D. they were converted to Śaivism.

The Pahlavas Āryans or Non-Āryans ?

There was a time when persons who had received modern education used to decry everything that was stated in ancient books. They refused to believe in things which were not clear to their reason. But the speed of modern scientific inventions has brought about a change in their outlook and has blunted to some extent the sharpness of their incredulity. They have come to realize that things, which were believed to be impossible only yesterday, have become the actual relations of to-day. Electric current travels at the speed of lacs of miles to-day. Why should one, then, disbelieve that a god could go round the whole of Jambūdwīp in the twinkle of an eye, if by god, the ancients meant personified power of nature ?[18] Things which have been excavated from Egypt have been proved to be as old as five to seven lacs of years. Does this not lead us to beleive that our earth has been existing since crores of years ?[19] Electrical devices, the wireless broadcasts, televisions—all these modern scientific marvels prove one thing conclusively and that

(17) Vide J. S. I. pp. 66.

(18) For details about Jambūdwīp, vide ante pp. 84 and seq.

(19) Their ways of life may have been different from ours; but, at least, it is certain that human beings there were, in those times.

is, powers residing in nature are thousand times superior to powers residing in human beings. We can make use of those powers of nature, either for our progress or for our destruction. Surely knowledge is power, and ancient saints did things, which to us seem incredible marvels, because they were masters of all energy residing in them and could centralize them on any activity in which they were interested. In short, unless we can conclusively prove that things were otherwise in times of yore, what earthly reason is there to disbelieve that the heights and physical sizes of human beings in those times were larger than those of human beings in our own times, that Kṛṣṇa had thousands of queens, that human beings could fly in those times and so on ? Are we to denounce them as false, simply because similar things do not exist at present or to-day ? Is it common sense to judge other ages by the standards of our age ? Surely, we do not do justice to ancient times by doing so, and we also treat our intelligence unfairly.

Hence, an intelligent and earnest reader should not flippantly cast aside a thing of antiquity simply because a similar thing does not exist at present, or simply because it is not found to fit in the modern values of things. He must have a cool, dispassionate and scientific attitude of mind.

We have stated in the foregoing pages that Persia and the region to the west of it formed, in ancient times, a part of Śākadwīp which itself was a part of Jambūdwīp. These parts were visited by Lav and Kuś, sons of Rām and by prince Śāmb, the son of Kṛṣṇa. This means that means of communication between Jambūdwīp and Śākadwīp existed in those times and that life in one dwīp had a sort of influence on life in another. So, Āryan civilization of Bharatkhaṇḍa must have wrought some changes in the lives of the natives of Śākadwīp. On the eastern extremity of Śakadwīp, i. e. on the borders of Jambūdwīp, was situated Persia; and on the western borders of Jambūdwīp was the territory in which were born our sages. The territory was known as Śakasthān. Certainly, there must have been close contact between the Āryans and the natives of Śakasthān. They were so near oneanother. The same conditions existed in Persia. The

Āryan sages represented cent percent Āryan civilization and considered Persian civilization to be much inferior to their own. So they coined a term—Pāṛṣi (Pā=¼)—for the Persian sages. This term indicates the inferiority of Persian civilization to Āryan civilization[20]. The term "Pārsi" is most probably a deteriorated form of "Pāṛṣi". Persia is the home of Pārsīs[21]. Ancient books refer to Irān as Pāras, more than once[22]. The terms "Fāras" and "Fārsī" are also deteriorated forms of "Pāras". I give below some details about ancient Persia, details which I have borrowed from a periodical[23]. These details might help us to judge the difference between the Āryan and the Persian civilizations.

Pārdian, the king of Persia, and Avisār (Abesares) the king of Darbhavisār in the Punjab, were brothers. Pahlavi[24] is the name of the language spoken by the Pārads. The term "Pāradiya" is a deteriorated form of "Pārśiv". Vaśiṣṭha, the famous sage, was a native of Persia, according to Matsya Purāṇ. Arjun is also called Pārthiv. It is said that Dilip, an ancestor of Rām, had his kingdom in Persia[25]. The name of his son was Anamitra or Śāsan, whose dynasty was named after him. Pahlavi was the language of the kings of this dynasty. The fourth descendant of Anamitra was named "Hutbhuj or Varuṇ". "Rāmhurbhuj" was an emporium of Indian goods, exported to Persia. The battle between the gods and demons took place in the time of Khattāng (probably another name of Dilip). Dilip had two sons, namely—

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(20) Probably, the Āryan sages believed in four Vedas; while the Pahlavas were conversant with only one.

(21) F. n. no. 22 below.

(22) Kāliksūri, a Jaina monk, had brought Śaka chiefs to the court of the Gardabhila king, from Śeistān which is on the Persian Gulf. Jaina books state that the home of the Śakas was a country named Pāras.

(23) Vide "Sāhitya", (a monthly now extinct but formerly of great reputation and published from Baroda). Vol. 17, pp. 485–487, f. n. no. 5–6.

(24) The names "Pārdiā" and "Persia" signified the same country.

(25) Vide "History of Persia", vol. I, pp. 422–23; and f. n. no. 24 above.

Anamitra[26] and Raghu. The Persian history tells us that the Pārads of the Śāsan dynasty called themselves Pahlavas also[27]. According to the Persian history, the Pārads and the Pahlavas were kings of the same dynasty; but they ruled at different times. All these details clearly prove that Persia was under Indian domination in ancient times. So the Persians were more or less under the influence of Āryan culture and civilization[28]. Not only that, but ties of blood also existed between the Persians and the Āryans. Further, we can also say that the Persians and the Greeks were sister nations, both belonging to the Sūrya dynasty[29].

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(26) His another name was Vighna;

Khattānga

Persian kings	**Indian kings**
Anamitra (Śāsan)	Raghu
Ardhaśir (Ardeśir)	Aja
Śāpur (the good)	Daśarath
Hurbhuj (Varuṇ)	Rāmchandra

(27) Cf. details given on pp. 235.

(28) Cf. details given on pp. 235.

(29) Many instances of this are given. ("Sāhitya", vol. 17, pp. 597–600).

Greek	**Indian**
(Dynasty) Helia-dal	Sūrya (Dynasty)
(King) Euristhenes	Udhiṣṭhir (King)
(„) Atreus	Ātreyas (of the Atri family)
Hercules	Harikul (the king of Lydiā and Syriā).
Balcan	Balik (the brother of Śāntanu).

The names Balkh, Balhik (Syriā) and Bālkans are derived from "Balcan". The descendants of the Greeks are called "Balica Putras". Mr. Toḍ says that the first king of Spārtā was Udhiṣṭhir. (Pp. 985, f. n. no. 2).

Marichi (Lux)	Jānhavī (Herā)	Balarām (Hercules)
Śaniā (Saturn)	Varuṇ (Posliden = Neptune)	Kṛṣṇa (Apollo);
Kāśyap (Uranus)	Viṣṇudamitra (Demeter)	Śiva (Bachhus)
Bṛhaspati or Maṅgal (Zeus)	Satī (Hesti)	Budha (Mercury)

Śani, the son of Sūrya (Śrutikarmā) was the first king of Greece and of

The Persian provinces of Yemen and Youna were inhabited by Yavans also. Greece was the home of Yavans as we already know[30]. The names "Ionian Sea" and "Ionian Islands" are derived from the name "Yavan". They were originally Vṛṣalatva Kṣatriyas. In the following paragraph, we shall discuss their relation with India.

The political connection of the Pahlavas with India.

In the above paragraph, we have stated the relations that existed between Persia and India, upto 9th century B. C. The subsequent political account of the Persians is briefly given in Chap. III of Part VI of this volume, while giving some details about the Yons. This shows that close relations existed between India and Persia before, as well as after, the 9th century B. C. It is stated on pp. 329 of C. H. I. "Prior to the seventh century B. C. there was a great commercial relation between Persia, Babylon & India, which, it is believed, was largely via the Persian gulf"[31]. Then the Persian emperors, Cyrus and

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Rome. The period was called the Golden Age (Satya Yug). Saturday is their first day of the week. Saturn is the ancient Roman God of Agriculture. The last Saturday in a month is the day of festival among them. In India, iron is given as charity in the name of Saturn; in Greece, lead is given for the same purpose. In those countries the colour of Saturn is believed to be dark.

The descendants of Sūrya dynasty are called the "Titans" in the western countries. A deteriorated form of the same is Traitana, which is another name of Kāśyap. The details given above, thus prove that Greece, Rome, Persia and others were connected with the Sūrya dynasty. (According to Jaina books, the sons of Ṛṣabhadev inherited, and separately ruled over, these countries. Their names are similar to the names given above. Ṛṣabhadev also belonged to the Ikṣavāku dynasty, itself a branch of the Sūrya dynasty. The first Persian kings Yam and Sārvāṇe were Manus. The first rulers of Greece and Rome were brothers of Sārvāṇe Manu. On account of this reason, Persia, Rome and Greece are considered to be sister nations.

Not only was the festival of Saturnah celebrated by the Greeks, but Phagesia (the goddess of fire=our Holi festival) also was celebrated as a festival. (Vide pp. 414, of "Festivals" by Toḍ).

(30) In the account of the Yons, we have shown that the term "Yavan" signified "the Greeks".

(31) Vide E. H. I. 3rd edi. pp. 28; f. n. there.

Darius established their power on the north-western borders of India. Then, Persia itself was conquered by Alexander. Priyadarśin liberated it from Greek domination. During the last years of Priyadarśin's rule, Persia became independent and the power of the Ārsex dynasty was established over it, in about 250 B. C. At almost the same time, Bactriā also became independent[32]. The home of the Pārthians was probably the district of Khorāsān, as we stated (vide ante) on pp. 98. In order to differentiate the former Pahlavas from the Persians of these times, Mr. Vincent Smith has called the later Persians, Pārthians.[33] He says:-"They were a race of rude and hardy horsemen, whose habits were similiar to those of the modern Turkomans,[34] who dwelt beyond the Persian deserts[35] in the comparatively infertile regions[36] to the S. E. of the Caspean sea. They were armed like the Bactrians with canebows and short spears; unlike Bactrians,[37] they had never adopted[38] Greek culture, although submissive to their Persian and Macedonian masters,[39] they retained the unchanged habits of a horde of mounted shepherds,[40] equally

(32) Vide the details about the origin of the Yons in chap. I of this part VI.

(33) Vide "Buddhiprakāś", vol. 76, pp. 11.

(34) In that region is situated a city named Khīv. Turkomān was a part of Bactriā in those times.

(35) Between Khorāsān, the origin of the Pārthians and Persia proper, there is a sandy region. So the phrase "across the desert" is used here.

(36) A comparison is here instituted between the fertility of Turkomān and that of Khorāsān. Turkomān means Bactriā. It was more fertile than Khorāsān.

(37) A comparison is instituted between the social customs of the Yons and those of the Pārthians.

(38) The Yons had absorbed Greek civilization; the Pārads retained their own .In other words the Pārads were more orthodoxical than the Yons. (Cf. the details about the difference between the Yons and Yavans).

(39) They were chiefs of the Yons and of the Pārads. They were not independent. They became independent later on. (Under whose domination they were, is not definitely known).

(40) The Pārads resembled the Āhirs of India. Both were warlike tribes and were Kṣatriyas.

skilled in the management of their steeds and the use of the bow ".[41]

Being mainly concerned here with Indian history, we should not dwell at length upon any problem that is not directly connected with it. Yet we have to make an exception here in order that the fog that has gathered round the history of these foreign chiefs may be cleared. I do not mean to suggest that the details stated by me about these foreign chiefs are gospel-truth; but, at the same time, it may be stated with pardonable pride that I have made the way clear for future students, who will thus be spared much of the spade-work.

The author of C. H. I. says[42]:—" Parthians or Pahlavas and Scythians (Sakas) were so closely associated that it is not always possible to distinguish between them; the same family includes both Parthian and Scythian names ". Another writer, Mr. Rapson states the same difficulty,[43]:—" The difficulty of distinguishing between the Scythian (Sakas) and Parthian (Pahlavas) dynasties in India is well known. The proper names afford the only means of making a distinction between them; and a consideration of these supplies no certain guide, since names derived from both the sources are applied to members of the same family ". The extracts have been quoted here in order to give an idea to the reader of the difficulty of distinguishing between the Śakas and the Pahlavas. To differentiate their names or to classify them is difficult; naturally, much more difficult it is to give their political accounts separately.

We have just stated that Persia became independent in about 250 B. C. Bactriā followed suit almost about the same time. We also know that while Demetrius, the Bactrian chief, was busy conquering provinces in India, a certain chief named Eucratides usurped the Bactrian throne. In B. C. 159, the year of Menander's death, Heliocles, the son of Eucratides, killed his

(41) They were thus men of hardy physic and rather strong-minded people.

(42) C. H. I. pp. 568.

(43) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 99; f. n. no. 1.

own father, while on his way back home and himself ascended the throne. So, now we have a connected account of Bactriā from B. C. 250 to B. C. 150. During the same time, Persia was ruled by about five kings of the Ārsex dynasty and in about B. C. 150, the sixth king, Mithradates by name, was on the throne. (Vide pp. 79 for the dynastic list.) He has been found to have ruled from B. C. 174 to 136 = 38 years. We do not know in what year ended the rule of Heliocles. Nor are we much concerned with that. It is probable that after his death, that part of Afghanistan which was under his power, came under the power of Mithradates. The western and the southern portions of Afghanistan were already under the power of Mithradates. These portions were inhabited by the Śakas. So, the territory of Mithradates, the Pārthian king, included within it, Khorāsān, western Persia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The Śakas came under the Pārthian domination. The successors of Mithradates were weak; so, during their time the Śakas tried to regain their independence. But their efforts were rendered futile by Mithradates II, the ninth king of the Ārsex dynasty. A great battle took place during his time, as a result of which Pārthian dominations over the Śakas was established for a long time to come. It is stated in H. H.[44]:—"It was in his reign that the struggle between the kings of Parthia and their Scythian subjects in eastern Irān was brought to a close and the suzerainty of Parthia over the ruling powers of Seistan and Kandahar, confirmed". The same writer has stated elsewhere[45]:—"Persian and Parthian title " Great King of Kings[46]" was the result of an actual conquest of N. W. India by Mithradates I[47]. But the invasion of India must be ascribed,

(44) C. H. I. pp. 568.

(45) C. H. I. pp. 567.

(46) The Indian conquest was made in the year B. C. 88 or thereabout. Then he assumed the title "King of Kings", but not before that.

(47) This shows that upto the time of Mithradates I, there was no Persian domination over India (f. n. no. 48). It was during the time of Mithradates II, that Persians established their power in India.

not to the reign of Mithradates I[48], but to a period after the reign of Mithradates II[49], when the power of Pārthiā had declined[50] and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent. There were normally three contemporary rulers of royal rank—a king of kings—associated with some junior member of his family in Irān[51], and a king of kings in India[52] and the subordinate ruler in Irān, usually became in due course king of kings in India[53]. (pp. 569)." The extract makes it clear that Mithradates II was a powerful king. He was also called Mithradates the Great. The Pārthian empire had its palmiest days during his time. His successors were weak. So, during their time, the subordinate kings became independent. A branch of the family migrated to India, and settled there. Mauses, Aziz I, and others belong to this branch. They were given the name, Indo-Pārthians. During the same time, several Śaka tribes also came to India and they were given the name, Indo-Scythians. We are concerned here with the account of Indo-Pārthians; the account of the Indo-Scythians will be given later on. But the details given above will make it clear that both the Indo-Pārthian and the Indo-Scythian kingdoms

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(48) This is quite correct. Cf. f. n. nos. 46 and 47 above.

(49) I. e. after B. C. 88; see the dynastic list facing pp. 79.

(50) The Pārthian power weakened only after the death of Mithradates the Great. See f. n. no. 49 above. Vide the account of Emp. Moses given later on.

(51) The king of Persia is called here "Junior". Because he had to send his son to India. However, for reasons about this, vide the account of Aziz II. The reader will have to change his opinion then.

(52) We call them Indo-Pārthians. The names of their chiefs were Mauses, Aziz I, Aziz II and so on.

(53) He is called subordinate to Persia only, because his origin was Persian and because he was sent by the Persian king.

If the kings mentioned in f. n. nos. 52, 53, be the same individual, there will be only two individuals holding the title "Emperor", and not three as stated above. For more details vide the account of Mauses.

in India, branched from the Pārthian empire, though the races are different from each other[54] and hailed from different places. (Chap. I, in Part VI) The reader will now see that it is not so difficult to differentiate the Pārthians from the Śakas, as the learned scholars quoted above, believe to be.

We have stated above, how the Indo-Pārthians came to India. In the next chapter we shall give an account of their activities in India.

(54) C. S. H. pp. 66:—"Śaka is the Indian form of Scythian, and Pahlava for Pārthian".



Chapter VIII

Pārthians (Contd.)

Synopsis:—(*1*) *Mauses—his descent from the Persian royal family—the belief of the scholars that both he and his successor started eras of their own—the way he came to India and the relation between the Pārthians and the Śakas—misunderstandings about his titles; the extent of his territory.*

(*2*) *Aziz I:—His time—his career, coins and era—the good relations of his forefathers with the royal family of Persia.*

(*3*) *Azilises:—Some details about him.*

(*4*) *Aziz II:—Misconceptions about his rule.*

(*5*) *Goṇḍofārnes:—His bright career; the union of the two Persian royal branches during his time;—some details which are not directly connected with him—Nature's work in India and Italy.*

The territorial extents and the religion of these rulers.

(1) MAUSES, MAUES, MOGA

All these three are names of the same individual. It is an established historical fact. Just as Pahlavas and Pallavas are names of different people, so Indo-Pārthians and Indo-Scythians also were different people. They were chiefs who had been once under the political domination of Persia (vide supra). We do not discuss this problem in details here, because certain facts about Indo-Scythians have yet to be written in their accounts. But we shall incidentally refer to the differences between the two, as occasions arise in this chapter.[1]

His time and rule

We have stated that the Pārthian empire had its best days during the rule of Mithradates the Great, the ninth king of the Ārsex dynasty and that the Śakas came under its power. During the weak rule of the successors of Mithradates, however, the Śakas became restive. To check their activities, a general named Mauses was appointed. Some scholars hold the opinion that Mauses was appointed as governor of the Śaka territory during the time of Mithradates himself. Mauses enjoyed powers similar to those of a Kṣatrap. We have no means to decide exactly when he was appointed and why he was appointed, or whether he had any blood-relationship with the ruling family.[2] He was a clever politician and an able general, and is said to have remained in office for nearly half a century. He held a position of trust and responsibility. He remained faithful to the ruling family. All these things lead us to conclude that he must have been selected for the post, not only because he was richly dowered with striking qualities of head and heart, but also because he had ties of blood with the royal family[3]. Looking to the long tenure of his office, he must have been appointed in the prime of his youth, during the rule of Mithradates the Great. After his

(1) Proofs will be given whenever necessary.

(2) In the light of facts, we have to come to the conclusion that he was connected with the royal family. Read f. n. no. 3 below.

(3) Cf. f. n. no. 2 above and the account of his later life.

death, during the weak rule of his successors, he must have taken the reins of government into his own hands, must have acted firmly and tactfully, and thus must have brought the situation under his control. Mithradates ruled from B. C. 123 to B. C. 88; so the appointment of Mauses as a Satrap[4] must have been in about B. C. 120 to B. C. 115.

He came to India much later[5] (about B. C. 80 or 79). He ruled in India for a few years only. His rule on the aggregate lasted from B. C. 115 to B. C. 77[6]. Thus he must have died at the age of about 70 to 75.

Was he a Śaka ?

We have stated above that according to the writer of C. H. I., there was a political upheaval about the time of Mithradates the Great. The members of the ruling family separated and formed three groups. One group continued to occupy the original throne of the empire. The second group went to India and established an independent kingdom there. The third settled in the district of Seistān in the N. E. of Persia.[7] The last group, later on, came to India and established independent kingdom here. Such is the opinion of the author of C. H. I. and of many other scholars. Now, let us examine this view-point in the light of facts. Of the three divisions of the Persian ruling family, the first two are all right. The second group which came to India is known in

(4) "Satrap" is a word of the Persian language. During the rule of Darius, twenty Satraps were appointed over various parts of the Persian empire. (Vol. I, pp. 70, f. n. no. 5).

(5) C. H, I. pp. 570:—"The precise date of Mauses cannot at present be determined".

(6) These are not definite dates supported by any solid evidence. Due to certain reasons, scholars have fixed the time of his successor, Aziz I, as B. C. 78. (Vide his account). So, the rule of Mauses must have ended in B. C. 77).

The author of C. H. I. (Vide pp. 570–71) has given altogether different dates. They are given below:—

Mauses : B. C. 75 to 58 = 17 years.
Aziz : B. C. 58 to 47 = 11 years.

(Vide "Buddhiprakāś", vol. 76, pp. 99).

(7) Vide pp. 242 and its f. n. no. 54.

Indian history as the Indo-Pārthian group. But it would not be proper to say that the third group, which is known by the name Indo-Scythians, was a branch of the Pārthian race. Their account, which is given in the next chapter, will make it amply clear that they were different race from the Indo-Pārthians.[8] It is quite true that the Scythians were once under the political domination of the Pārthians and that they formed a unit of the Persian empire. But that is all that can be said. The Indo-Scythian chiefs who established their power in India, never assumed the high-sounding title-king of kings-which the Indo-Pārthian chiefs most certainly did.[9] They were satisfied with the simple title, "King". So, we come to the conclusion that the Persian ruling family divided themselves in two[10] groups only. The belief that the Pārthians and the Śakas belong to the same family has given rise to many historical errors and has made the tangled skein of ancient Indian history more tangled still[11]. The author of C. H. I. for instance, says:—"The first three Saka sovereigns who succeeded to the dominions of yavana (Greek) kings on the N. W. Frontier Provinces and the Punjab were Mauses, Aziz I and Azilises...The assumption of the Imperial title "King of Kings" by these Saka and Pahlava sovereigns is most significant and testifying in a manner, which cannot be mistaken (to the diminished power of Pārthia at this period)." The passage quoted above alludes to many things, with a note of hesitation about them all. For instance, a reader might not unreasonably think that the Yavans never established their power further than the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab[12]. The reader may also conclude

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(8) Vide pp. 242, read the last lines there.

(9) This proves that the Indo-Pārthians and the Indo-Scythians had no political relations with each other. The Indo-Scythians were independent chiefs. Cf. f. n. no. 1 above.

(10) Cf. pp. 241, f. n. nos. 52 and 53.

(11) Vide C. H. I. pp. 569.

(12) We have already proved that the Yavan and the Yona kingdoms stretched right upto Mathurā. (Vide the accounts of Demetrius & Menander).

that the Śaka kingdom in India consisted of these provinces only[13]. Secondly, Azilises, Aziz II and Goṇḍofārnes were also chiefs who ruled in India. Why are their names not stated by the learned writer ?[14]. Thirdly Mauses, Aziz I and Azilises are first referred to as "Śaka" sovereigns;[15] and in the next sentence, they are called "Saka and Pahlava" sovereigns.[16] This means that either the author believes that they were names of the same race or he does not know of any distinction existing between them. Fourthly, he has not stated clearly as to who could assume the title "King of Kings" and who could not.[17] In f. n. nos. 12 to 16, we have given facts about these points. The reader will understand how much Indian history has suffered on account of these authors having no clear idea about the Śakas and the Pārthians.

India is protected by mountains on the north and on the west. Along her whole northern border, the Himālayas stretch like a line of impregnable fortifications across which no enemy

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(13) Even the Śakas had not confined themselves within these limits. They had gone much further. (Here the scholars have confused the Śakas with the Pahlavas. Read f. n. nos. 15 and 16 below). In the next chapter we shall prove this conclusively.

(14) If he meant that the first three enjoyed power over these provinces and the remaining two did not, he is wrong. On the contrary, the territorial possessions of the last two were much more extensive than those of the first three.

If he has not mentioned the names of the last two with the idea that they did not belong to the ruling family, he is again far from truth. The last two were direct descendants of the ruling house and were thus more closely related with it than the first three.

If his contention is with regards to the seat of the capital, even then he is wrong, because the seat of the capital of the last two was Mathurā.

(15) We have shown that these rulers do not belong to the Śaka race. (Read f. n. no. 10 above).

(16) We have proved in the foregoing pages that the Śakas and the Pahlavas are different races. (Vide pp. 98). Their accounts also prove the same thing. Read f. n. no. 10 above.

(17) Details about this have been given on pp. 117 to 123 in a separate paragraph. More details will be given as occasions arise for them.

can attack India. The western range of mountains is neither so strong or so continuous. There are several passes connecting India with other countries. Of these passes, two are more noteworthy than the others. One is the Khaiber pass connecting India with Afghanistan and the other is the Bolan pass, connecting India with Baluchistan. For Persians to come to India, the Khaiber pass would be more suitable. But if natives of Seistān or of any others of provinces on the sea-coast wanted to come, the Bolan pass would be given preference by them. By sea, they would have to come through the Persian gulf. The Pārthians had established their power over the north of Afghanistan. Hence, the Indo-Pārthians must have come to India through the Khaiber pass. The home of the Indo-Scythians was, on the other hand, in the south of Afghanistan, in the N. E., of Persia and in Baluchistan. So, they must have taken to the Bolan pass if they wanted to come by land, and to the Persian gulf if sea-route took their fancy. So, the Indo-Pārthians would come to India through the Punjab while the Indo-Scythians would accomplish the same object through Sind. Thus the route selected by a foreign people would be a clear indication to the situation of their native place and hence to the people themselves.

Which way did they come to India ?

According to the opinion of the author of C. H. I. Mauses was an Indo-Scythian. Hence, by the rule stated above, he states that he must have come to India through Sind, and then he must have proceeded towards the Punjab though the Indus. Now, it is an established fact that Mauses and his successors ruled over the Kābul river region in Afghanistan, the Punjab and Sūrsen and Mathurā. Now, if Mauses came to India through Sind, how did he establish his power over the regions stated above ? Surely it is an anomalous proposition. The scholars themselves are confused on the point. The extent of their perplexity will become clear to the readers from the following extracts from C. H. I.[18] " The Sakas reached India indirectly, and like the Pahlavas they

(18) Vide C. H. I. pp. 564.

came through Ariana[19] (S. Afghanistan and Baluchistan) by the Bolan pass into the countries of the lower Indus.......Pahlavas are inseparably connected with the Sakas and......the Indo-Scythia[20] was the base through which the Saka and the Pahlava armies moved up the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries, to attack the yavana kingdoms[21].......The province of Indo-Scythia (Sind) appears to be very inadequately represented (by coins of Mauses). It may perhaps have been held by the viceroy together with Arachosia." Coins of Mauses are not found in Sind. So, the scholars have come to the opinion that it must have been under the power of the governor of Arachosia. The coins of Mauses, they believe, are not found in Sind[22] because it was so far from Kandahār, the seat of his capital. "For a time the remnants of the two yavan houses in the upper Kabul valley and in the eastern Punjab seem to have been separated by the Śaka dominions which lay between them in the valley of the Indus[23]". This means that for a time the yavana family was divided into two groups and that their power was on the decline. One group ruled over the region around the Kābul river and the other had under its domination the eastern Punjab. And the Śakas (i. e. Mauses) ruled over the territory lying between these two yavana

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(19) Herāt was the capital of Ariānā. (Vide vol. II, pp. 275). The Khaibar pass only would be suitable to them. Yet the scholars have made them come by a different route, in order to suit these things to their theory? Difficulties and confusions arising from this are stated in the following sentences.

(20) The Indo-Scythian region stretched about the territory through which the Indus flows into the sea. The delta formed there is known as the Śaka-dwīp. (See details about Śakadwīp).

(21) The Yavana power extended upto Takṣilā and the Punjab. Naturally, the people whose home was Herāt, would prefer the Khaibar pass when they want to come to India. They would never take the circuitous route of first going southwards, then travel through the Bolan pass to Sind, and then proceed northwards through the Indus. Why should the historians ask readers to believe such nonsense?

(22) Mauses had no relation with Sind. Hence, naturally, his coins are not found there.

(23) Vide C. H. I. pp. 570.

kingdoms. As a matter of fact, however, the yavana house was not divided into two groups at any time[24]. F. n. no. 24 below will make it clear that the scholars had to imagine certain things in order to suit them to the theory held by them. The author of C. H. I. further states:—"After the reign of Mauses, the house of Euthydemos was extinguished and yavana rule in the Punjab brought to an end." This is also an equally imaginary theory, because, after the end of the dynasty of Euthydemos, Mauses was appointed by the Pārthian emperor Mithradates, as the governor of the territory. The extract quoted above states things quite to the contrary * . We may note here the fact that many coins bearing the names of yavana chiefs are found in the Punjab as well as in the territory around the Kābul river. Scholars have come to the conclusion that the Bactrian ruling house was divided into two groups—one of Euthydemos and the other of Eucratides—and that these chiefs were the descendants of these two groups. But as we have shown above[25], these chiefs never ruled as independent kings. They were governors—Kṣatraps—appointed by their overlords and they were given the power to mint their own coins for currency in the territory under their rule. And on account of

(24) See the dynastic list of the Yavans facing pp. 79. Scholars believe that Yavana house was divided into two parts in the following manner:—(1) Euthydemos, Demetrius and Menanḍer; (2) Eucratides and his successor. They should have noted, however, that Euthydemos was the first man to occupy the throne of Bactriā, and that Eucratides succeeded him. Demetrius and Menanḍer, on the other hand, established their kingdom in India. They had no political relations with each other. Again, their time is about B. C. 200; while the time of Mauses is about B. C. 80.

Moreover, the Bactrian rule ended for ever in B. C. 123. Vide their account) in Bactriā, and in B. C. 159 in India. The rule of Mauses, on the other hand, began in B. C. 80. So, there was an interval of nearly 50 to 75 years between their rules.

Thirdly, no yavana kingdom was ever divided into territories separate from each other. The yavana kingdom always consisted of one continuous stretch of territory. Hence, there is no question of an intermediate territory ruled by Mauses.

* Read f. n. no. 24 above.

(25) Read the details given at the end of the account of Menanḍer.

this reason, we find in the same region, the coins of these chiefs as well as the coins of their overlords[26]. Had these chiefs been independent yavana kings,—scions of the ruling house–the yavana dynasty would have been found to be not so continuous as it really is. The reader will clearly see how much injustice has been done to the Indian history by taking for granted that the Indo-Pārthians and the Indo-Scythians belonged to the same family.

His titles and his territorial extent

We have stated in Vol. I, pp. 70 that the Persian empire was divided into several provinces for the sake of administrative convenience, and that over each province was appointed a Satrap.[27] The empire of Darius was divided into 20 to 24 Satrapis. The overlord or the occupant of the original throne was called emperor. During the rule of Mithradates the Great, the Bactrian chief Heliocles died, and the Yona dynasty ended with his death. Mithradates annexed certain parts of the Bactrian kingdom,—especially that portion of Afghanistan which connected India with Persia. Over the territory thus annexed, he appointed Mauses as the governor. He was not merely a kṣatrap; he was given the title " King ", (See his coins), and was given the power to mint his own coins. Over and above these distinctions from an ordinary Satrap, the very fact that the most strategic territory—connecting India with Persia—was placed under his power, means that he must have been the scion of the ruling family. Certain points, referred to in his account below, also substantiate this contention. So also do the political doctrines observed by his successors support it.[28] Mithradates the Great died in B. C. 88; he was succeeded by weak rulers. During the weak rule of these successors, the

(26) If a provision had been made to the effect that all yavan kṣatraps must see that the portrait-head of their overlords should appear on one side of the coins, these difficulties would not have arisen.

(27) "Satrap" is a word belonging to the Persian language; "Kṣatrap", on the other hand, is a word of the Kharoṣṭhī language. The meaning of both is the same.

(28) Their accounts, given later on, will make this quite clear.

Śakas rose into rebellion.[29] Had Mauses desired to take advantage of this opportunity, he could have easily secured for himself the throne of the Persian empire. But he did nothing of the sort, remained faithful to his weak overlords and suppressed the Śaka rising. Then he advanced towards India.[30] This shows that not only was he a descendant of the ruling family, but also that he was a noble-minded and faithful man. His successors followed in his foot-steps and allowed their kingdom to be merged within the Persian empire. It is not improbable that even while he was in Pārthiā (i. e. from the death of Mithradates in B. C. 88 to some following years) he might have been given the title "Great King" in appreciation of his services to the empire. Then he invaded India, conquered large territories, and established Mathurā as the seat of his capital. Then he might have assumed the title "Great King of Kings", which denoted his equality in status with the Persian emperor. This is all about the various titles assumed by Mauses.[31] The author of C. H. I. states[32]:— "The Saka and Pahlava kings[33] repeat the great royal title,

(29) Read the extract from C. H. I. pp. 567, on pp. 241. Note particularly the words, "After the reign of Mithradates".

It is probable that at the time of this political upheaval in Śeistān, a large group of the Śakas migrated to India and settled in the region under the power of Bhūmak. The ancestors of Ṛṣabhadatta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ, probably came with this group. (For more details vide the account of Ṛṣabhadatta).

(30) This seems to be quite true; because the Persian throne was successively occupied by kings for short intervals, even after this. This shows that Mauses had no desire to usurp the throne of Persia and thus make it a scene of battle and warfare. He never entertained any desire of fattening himself at the cost of his brothers and cousins. His successors followed the same policy.

(31) All details about these titles have already been given. Vide pp. 117 and sequel.

(32) C. H. I. pp. 567.

(33) We have to note that these details apply to the Pahlava kings only. The term Śaka is given here because the author of C. H. I. mistakenly thinks that the Pahlavas and the Śakas were the same people. (Vide pp. 242, f. n. no. 54).

"King or Great King", but their normal style is "Great King of Kings"[34] a title which is distinctly Persian". The extract, however, should not be taken to mean that the Pārthians were, at any time, under the power of the Greeks. Nothing can be further from truth, because long before B. C. 80, the Greeks had closed to have any power in India, or even in Afghanistan, in Persia or in the territory to the west of it. Of course, it is true that in former times the Greeks and the Pahlavas had come into contact-social as well as political—with each other; and as a result of this, the Pahlavas might have adopted certain titles of the Greeks.[35] We have already given above all the details about the titles of Mauses. As to the possible date of the invasion of Mauses over India, the author of C. H. I. states[36]:—"Mauses invaded India after the end of the reign of Mithradates II, when Parthia ceased to exercise any real control over Seistan and Kandhar." In the table facing pp. 79, we have stated that his time is in B. C. 85. Further researches show us that it must have begun a few years later, in about 80 B. C. In the account of Pātik, the Kṣaharāṭa Mahākṣatrap of Takṣilā, we have stated that while he had gone to Mathurā on a pilgrimage, Mauses, taking advantage of this opportunity, conquered the province of Gandhār and seized the throne in B. C. 78. It is further stated in C. H. I.[37]:—"Mauses had conquered Gandhar–Pushkalavati to the west of the Indus as well as Taxila to the east". So far the author of C. H. I. is in the right. But when he states[38] that "Any direct invasion from the north seems in fact to be out of question"; we have to say that he is twisting facts in order to suit his theory that Mauses was a Śaka[39]. We have shown in the

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The Śakas always prefixed the title "King" to their names. They never assumed titles like "Great King" or "King of Kings". (Vide their account).

(34) These words of the author show that he is not quite sure of what he says.

(35) Cf. f. n. no. 34 above.

(36) C. H. I. pp. 569.

(37) C. H. I. pp. 570.

(38) C. H. I. pp. 564.

(39) Vide f. n. no. 1 above.

foregoing pages that the Śakas would certainly have come to India through the Bolan pass and that they would have first landed in Sind. Not so however the Pahlavas, who would have found the Khaiber pass more suitable to them. The very fact that Mauses had under his power territory upto Kandhār, Gandhār and Takṣilā, proves that he must have come to India by the Kaiber pass. For what earthly reason should he have taken a circuitous route ?

His career in India began with the conquest of Gandhār. Then he advanced further, conquered the province of Sūrsen, which was under the power of another Kṣaharāṭa Mahākṣatrap, and established the seat of his capital at Mathurā. These events took place in B. C. 79. Shortly after this, he died and was succeeded by Aziz I. It is not known whether Mauses and Aziz were related to each other in any way. I believe that they were father and son. We shall discuss this later on. We may, however, note the fact that Mauses conquered within one year all the territories that were under the power of two Kṣaharāṭa Mahākṣatraps who had been ruling there for over a period of 35 years. Two reasons can be given for this amazing conquest Either the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs were too much engrossed in religious activities to mind their political responsibilities; or powerful as they were, Mauses defeated them and killed them in pitched battles. By the time Mauses came to India, both Pātik and Soḍās had reached the ripe old age of nearly 80 years.[40] Most probably they had no male issues. And they were highly religious-minded.[41] So, they might have relinquished their thrones in favour of Mauses, in whom they may have found a fit successor. It is also probable that bloody wars may have taken place between them; and that we do not find any proofs about their having taken place, because in the first place, Jaina books containing their

(40) Mauses was also equally old. The warlike spirit in a man burns with the same intensity, irrespective of his age. So, if the Kṣaharāṭa Kṣatrap wanted to fight, he would have.

(41) The Lion Capital Pillar of Mathurā is a brilliant example of their devotion to religion.

descriptions have been either destroyed or are yet to be found out, or the hitherto unpublished documents at the royal courts of Persia only may contain any mention of them. On the whole, however, the first theory is more plausible than the second, especially in view of the fact that all the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs were devout Jains. It is noteworthy that during the short interval of five years from B. C. 78 to 74, all the three powerful Kṣaharāṭa kingdoms came to an end. Surely, the ways of fate are queer and inscrutable. Mauses may also have made preparations to invade Avantī, after his conquest of the first two Kṣaharāṭa kingdoms. Nahapāṇ then had reached very old age. But, in the meanwhile, Mauses died and his ambition of conquering Avantī remained unfulfilled.

In the Takṣilā charity-deed copper-plate we have the figure of 78. Pātik has got it inscribed there the words, " during the rule of King Moga. " Details about this have already been given on pp. 187.

Thus the kingdom of Mauses consisted of Afghanistan, the Punjab and the United Provinces.

(2) AZIZ I *alias* AYA

After the death of Mauses, his son, having assumed the name Aziz, came to the throne of Takṣilā[42] as well as of Mathurā.

His time

Opinion prevails among some scholars that there was no blood-relationship between Mauses and Aziz. So also are different opinions held about his time.

Let us discuss in detail the question of his time. We have stated (vide table facing pp. 79) that the rule of Mauses ended in 78 B. C. This has been stated on the authority of Mr. Vincent Smith. The author of C. H. I.[43] holds a different opinion.

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(42) J. I. H. Qu. vol. 12, pp. 20. Prof. Stein Konow states:—"Sir John Marshall's excavations have shown that in Taxila, Moga was succeeded by king Aziz".

(43) C. H. I. pp. 570–71; the time of Mauses is stated there to have been 75 to 58=17 years, and that of Aziz, 58 to 47=11 years. (Ibid. pp. 555, f. n. no. 27).

According to him, B. C. 75 was the year in which the rule of Mauses began.

We have stated ahove that Mauses conquered the kingdoms both of Pātik and of Soḍās within a year,—probably 78 B. C. or 79 B. C. In the case of Pātik, this contention is supported by his copper-plate which means that, it is perfectly true. In the case of Soḍās however, no such piece of solid evidence is available. Moreover, the conquest of two such powerful kingdoms within a year being always difficult of achievement, seems rather improbable. Of course, in the case of Pātik, advantage was taken of his absence and Mauses had not to exert himself or his army very much for that. But, for the conquest of the kingdom of Soḍās, he must have required some two or three years for making preparations. Hence, it is not unreasonable to accept B. C. 75 as the date of his conquest of Mathurā. Then Mauses intended to invade Avantī. But fate had decided otherwise and he died immediately after his conquest of Mathurā. He was succeeded by his son Aziz. Soon after his accession to the throne, Nahapāṇ the king of Avantī, died in B. C. 74. As he had no heir, quarrels arose about the occupation of the throne of Avantī. Aziz could have easily taken advantage of this opportunity. But he had recently come to the throne[44] and did not think it wise to be too covetous of further conquests. This also supports the theory that Mauses died in B. C. 75. Why then does Mr. Smith stick to 78 as the year of the death of Mauses? He has not given any reasons for his theory. Probably he does so, because he believes that it was Aziz who started the Śaka era, which is said to have begun in B. C. 78.[45] But this is far from truth.

(44) If we take that Mauses died in B. C. 78, then Aziz must have come to the throne in the same year. Nahapāṇ died in 74, i. e. 4 years after Aziz came to the throne. The fact that Aziz did not turn his eyes towards Avantī during all these years, shows that he was not as valorous as his father.

(45) Some scholars believe that it was Aziz II, who started the Śaka era. This is equally wrong. Figure 78 has no possible connection with his time. Again his carëer-quiet and uneventful,—was not the career of an era-founder.

In the first place, Aziz was not a powerful king and had achieved or done nothing in commemoration of which he might have started the era. But suppose that he did start an era. The Śaka era, however, was begun not in B. C. 78 but in 78 A. D. How can a king who ruled in B. C. 78—supposing the date to be true—have any connection with an era started in 78 A. D., i. e. nearly 150 years later? Hence B. C. 75 is the correct date of the death of Mauses and of the accession of Aziz to the throne.

The author of C. H. I. believes that Mauses was a Śaka chief. He states[46]:—" A few years later cir B. C. 75, there arose another formidable power on the west. The Scythians (Sakas) of Seistan had occupied the delta of the Indus. " In short, he means that the Śakas came to power in B. C. 75, under the leadership of Mauses. Elsewhere[47], while discussing the figure 79 in the Copper-plate of Pātik[48], he states:—" If so, the inscription would be *cir.* 72 B. C., a year which may well have fallen in the reign of Mauses ". We have already proved that Mauses was not a Śaka chief at all. So, all the theories about him are naturally incorrect.

In short, the reign of Aziz began in B. C. 78 or in B. C. 75. It ended in B. C. 58. Thus his rule lasted for 20 or 17 years.

His career

A short time after his accession to the throne, Nahapāṇ died, leaving no heir behind him.[49] The throne was occupied by a certain Gardabhil, who founded a dynasty after his name. He however died in B. C. 64[50] (B. C. 61 according to some) and again there arose a quarrel about the throne. Both these events took place during the time of Aziz[51]; and Avantī was situated

(46) Vide C. H. I. pp. 532.

(47) Vide C. H. I. pp. 570.

(48) Vide pp. 554 and pp. 610.

(49) Vide his account.

(50) Some believe that in that year Gardabhīl relinquished his throne. He died some time after this. (Vide his account given later on).

(51) On one of the occasions, he was not in a position to do anything. For details read his account.

on the borders of his own kingdom. Again, the persons who occupied the throne could not hold a candle with him either in prowess or in military strength. In spite of such advantages, Aziz remained inactive. Had Mauses been alive, he would unhesitatingly have taken advantage of such opportunities. This shows that Aziz had not much in him of his father's valour or ambition. Or, he must have had troubles at home. Mauses had no time to consolidate his conquests. He simply conquered kingdoms and died. So Aziz must have thought it wiser to consolidate his power at home, than to march onwards leaving a rebellious state of affairs at home to grow and aggravate during his absence. But no proofs are available in support of this second contention. Hence, we conclude that he must have been an ease-loving and harmless sort of man, contented with what he had inherited and too idle to be activly engaged in anything. His coins give us to understand that during the latter part of his life he was ill.

His coins and his era

Some scholars believe that Aziz began the Śaka era in B. C. 78. We have shown above, that this is quite incorrect. The Śaka era began, not in 78 B. C. but in 78 A. D., i. e. nearly 150 years after the time of Aziz. Again, Aziz had done nothing striking during his rule in commemoration of which he might start an era. Moreover, he was not a Śaka; he was a Pārthian. So, the theory that he started the Śaka era is groundless.

About his coins, the author of C. Sh. H. I. states[52]:—" On Mauses' coins, his name appears along with the title " King of Kings "; but the coins of his successors, Aziz king of kings, of Spalahores his brother and of Spalagadames his nephew sometimes also bear on the obverse Greek legends, with the name Vonones[53], king of kings. Aziz sometimes struck coins, like Mauses,

(52) Ibid. pp. 68.

(53) The coins of the brother and of the nephew of Aziz may bear the name of Vonones. But what about the coins of Aziz himself ? Again, neither his brother nor his nephew succeeded Aziz on the throne. Neither of them

in his own name alone,[54] but also some times with Azilises[55] king of kings as well as with Asvavarman "[56]. This means that some coins of Aziz bear his portrait-head only; while on some others, we find the portrait-head of some other together with his, either on the same side[57], or on opposite sides. The same writer states[58] that[59] the overlord got words inscribed in the Greek script and the king under him got words inscribed in the Kharoṣṭhi script, on the coins. If the overlord and the king under him were father and son, they did not make any distinctions on the coins. Other relations are clearly mentioned. The instances of Azilises and Aziz are given as illustrations of this. But the learned writer has omitted one thing.

But one thing has been entirely overlooked by the writer. All the instances given by him refer to the original throne of the Persian empire. He has not made it clear whether the same conditions prevailed in India. To understand this clearly, one has to look into the relations that existed between the two thrones–the original throne in Persia, and the other in India. During the 28 years that followed the death of Mithradates in B. C. 88, two or three weak rulers occupied the throne of Persia. Then Mithradates III came to throne in B. C. 60. At that time Aziz was on the throne of India. But due to old age and perhaps

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was an independent king anywhere. At the most, they were governors of small provinces. Scholars committed the same kind of mistake in the case of the governors appointed by Demetrius and Menanḍer. They took all these chiefs to be independent kings. Both the nephew and the brother of Aziz were either under his power or under the power of the Persian king.

(54) These coins must have been struck during their period of independence.

(55) Such coins were struck when they were under the direct control of their overlord. For details read further on.

(56) He was a commander-in-chief. Probably he ruled over some province together with Aziz. For details read further.

(57) Read f. n. no. 60 below.

(58) C. Sh. H. and C. H. I. : both are works written by the same author. The former is an abridgement of the latter.

(59) Vide C. H. I. pp. 572.

some physical disability[60], he was helped in political affairs by his son Azilises[61]. Efforts were made to establish connections between the two thrones at this time. But before any tangible result came out, Aziz died in B. C. 58 and Mithradates III died in B. C. 56. Azilises succeeded Aziz and Orodoes succeeded Mithradates. During their time it was decided to unite the two kingdoms into one empire, because they were just like branches of the same tree[62]. It was decided that after the death of Azilises, the Indian kingdom was to be considered a part of the Persian empire, and that a governor was to be appointed over it. The governor was to be the heir-apparent to the throne of Iran, or some other prince. Azilises died in B. C. 30. During his lifetime two or three kings came to the throne of Persia. At the time of his death, Spalires, the brother of Vonones I, was on the throne. His son Aziz[63], who was at that time governor of Afghanistan; was appointed the governor of India[64]. He came to India and assumed the name Aziz II. But even this arrangement was not found very suitable. So, after the death of Aziz II, his succeesor Goṇḍofārnes was proclaimed as the emperor of Persia. He shifted his headquarters from India to Persia. (Vide his account.) These details will help the reader to understand, why the coins of Indo-Pārthians bear portrait-heads of two persons, and why Goṇḍofarnes went to Persia.

(3) AZILISES

After the death of Aziz, his son Azilises came to the throne. His time has been fixed from B. C. 58 to 30=28 years. For these

(60) On account of this reason, the portrait-heads of father and son are embosed on the same side. (For details vide the account of Azilises).

(61) C. H. I. pp. 572:—"Aziz I was succeeded by Azilises; but there was certainly a period in which these two kings were associated in government."

(62) For this very reason, I believe that Mauses was a scion of the Persian royal house.

(63) The son of Spalires, i. e. the nephew of Vonones.

(64) This will make it clear that Azilises and Aziz II were not father and son.

28 years he ruled independently. But even during the lifetime of his father, he actively helped him in administrative affairs and thus had shaken off much of the burden from his ailing shoulders.

His career

No event of any importance seems to have happened during his time. He may have been an ease-loving man like his father. A sort of understanding had taken place between him and the emperor of Persia. So, perhaps, he had no political ambitions or anxieties. Only a year after his accession to the throne, the throne of Avanti was vacant and had he tried, he could have easily secured it. But he seems to have regarded political expansion rather non-chalantly.

An incident described in Rājtaṛṅgiṇi, a historical treatise on Kāśmir, at first made me come to the conclusion that Azilises was a weak ruler. I should, however, hasten to say that I have found that conclusion to be ill-founded. The incident in question is as follows:—Emperor Vikramāditya conquered Kāśmir and appointed his minister named Mantrigupta, as his governor there. Naturally, I identified this Vikramāditya with Śakāri Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era; because of all the ten or fifteen Vikramādityas that ruled in ancient India, he has earned the greatest amount of fame. I thought that nearly 10 or 15 years after his accession to the throne of Avantī in B. C. 57, he must have achieved this conquest of Kāśmir. Now, at this time Azilises was the ruler of both the Punjāb and Kāśmir. Hence, I came to the conclusion that Kāśmir must have been wrested from him by Vikramāditya; which led me to believe that Azilises must have been a weak ruler. Thus Mathurā, which was the seat of the capital of Azilises, was separated from the rest of the Persian empire, the intervening territory having been conquered by Vikramāditya.

Later on, however, I found that my conclusion was based on a false foundation. My theories about Mauses and his successors became subject to a complete metamorphosis. I found that I had committed a mistake equal in magnitude to that of Mr. Thomas, the curator of the Indian section at the London Library, when he stated that Dharmāśoka, who was once king of Kāśmir,

was none else but Aśoka. (Vide Vol. II, pp. 348 seq. where we have proved that this is an entirely false conclusion). The established fact that Goṇḍofarnes, the successor of Azilises was the supreme master of all territory right from Persia to Mathurā, and that he had no intervening territory to conquer, made me change my mind. I considered now Śakāri Vikramāditya to be out of question in connection with this incident of the conquest of Kāśmir and the appointment of Mantrigupta as governor over it. Then I concluded that the Vikramāditya in question must have been one of the kings of the Gupta dynasty. Probably he was Chandragupta. Two or three Gupta kings had assumed the name Vikramāditya. All of them were valorous and held sway in northern India. Again, the name of the governor appointed over Kāśmir—Mantrigupta—is more in conformity with this theory than with any other. We do not go into details about this because the Guptas are not within the scope of this book.

So, I think, there is no reason at hand to dub Azilises as a weak-minded king.

However, this question-who were this Vikramāditya and Mantri gupta?—is not to escape from the field of our investigation. This will be referred to later on in this volume, while narrating the lives of kings of the Gardabhīla dynasty, to which the famous Śakāri Vikramāditya belonged.

(4) AZIZ II

We have stated above that arrangement had been made to the effect that a prince of the Persian royal family was to be appointed as the governor of India. When Vonones died, his brother Spalires ascended the throne. After the death of Azilises, the son of Spalires was sent to India as governor. He is known in history as Aziz II. He is said to have ruled from B. C. 30 to A. D. 19 = 49 years. The reader will see that of all the Indo-Pārthian kings, the rule of Aziz II, lasted for the longest time. From the view-point of events, however, the reign is rather disappointing. No noteworthy event is recorded during the long stretch of his reign. His was an uneventful and peaceful regime. His next-door

neighbour was the famous Vikramāditya Śakāri of Avantī. But Aziz II gave him no cause for complaint and Vikramāditya was too noble-minded to cast covetous eyes on his kingdom, without any sort of provocation. Acquisition of land for its own sake, did not appeal very much to him.

Some scholars believe that he was the founder of the Śaka era. We have, however, already proved (vide supra, pp. 256) that any such belief is ill-founded.

(5) GOṆḌOFARNES—GOṆḌOFARAS

After the death of Aziz II, another scion of the Persian royal house was sent to India as governor. His rule lasted from A. D. 19 to 45=26 years. Then the Indian kingdom was merged into the Persian empire and Goṇḍofarnes repaired to Persia and ascended the throne there[65]. His relations with the king of Avantī like those of his predecessor, were peaceful and amicable. A Kuśāna chief, Kadaphisis by name, tried to establish his power over the region around the Hindukuś, on the north of Afghanistan, with the help of Yuchi people. (Vide supra, pp. 96). When Goṇḍofarnes heard of this, he at once took active steps and suppressed him. He forced Kadaphisis to evacuate the Kābul valley and recede further. Then he got a pillar erected in Afghanistan in commemoration of this conquest. The pillar is still there. We can confidently assert that the Indo-Pārthian empire had its fairest day during his rule[66].

Some more details

Some scholars believe that Goṇḍofarnes, a follower of the Pahlavi faith, had embraced Christianity in the later years of his life. Others believe that though not an actual convert, his attitude towards Christianity was that of tolerance and sympathy[67]. We know that Christianity had come into being almost at that time and

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(65) It is said that he died in A. D. 60; H. H. pp. 647:—"He died about A. D. 60".

(66) C. H. I. pp. 538:—"The Pahlava power attained its heights".

(67) H. H. pp. 647:—"A recently discovered inscription shows that Gondophorus was initiated by St. Thomas in A. D. 21".

so, was full of freshness and appeal. St. Thomas, a missionary who travelled upto Madras and worked as an evangelist there, was the man, who impressed him and attracted him towards the new faith.

Another thing to be noted is, that after his departure from India in A. D. 26, we do not definitely know (for the discussion of this topic, please refer to the account of the Kuśāns) under whose power were the Punjab and the United Provinces, for the next half a century. Kaniṣka, the Kuśāna king, established his power over these provinces in A. D. 78[68]. Some scholars believe that during these fifty years, small Persian chiefs continued to hold power in these provinces. Of course, no definite piece of evidence is available in support of this contention.

India and Italy

A writer has said[69]:—"India and Italy have terribly suffered for their unhappy gifts of beauty." Nature has been bountiful upon both. India has been constantly the most covetous object worth trying for, to all foreigners. Foreign people after foreign people have carried fire and sword through the length and breadth of India, leaving black ruin and irreparable destruction in their trail.

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(68) I believe that this is not the correct date of Kaniṣka. Details about this will be given later on.

(69) Vide H. H. pp. 627.



Chapter IX

Foreign Invaders (Contd.)

(D) *ŚAKA—SCYTHIANS; INḌO-SCYTHIANS*

Synopsis:—*Details about the kings of the dynasty which Mr. Thomas calls "Sen-Siṅha or Ṣāhī."—Were the Scythians or Inḍo-Scythians—the "Ṣāhī" kings of Saurāṣṭra and the kings known as "Śahenśāhī;" ? distinction between them—Details about "Ṣāhī" kings, who have hitherto been rather neglected by historians —A connected account of Śakas; distinction between Scythian and Inḍo-Scythian kings—Migration of Ṣaka tribes at different times into different directions—Confusions in Indian history on account of the scholars' inability to understand properly everything about the Śakas.*

(D) ŚAKA-SCYTHIANS—INḌO-SCYTHIANS

General description

Of the five races, namely, the Bactrians (yonas), the Kṣaharāṭas, the Pahlavas Pārthians, the Śakas and the Kuśāns we have already dealt with the first three. The Śakas and the Kuśāns have been kept at the end because more confusions prevail about them and their accounts among scholars than about any others.

In the case of Pārthians, the terms "Pārthians" and "Indo-Pārthians" were used to differentiate those who came to India, from those who did not come, though both the terms signify the same race. So do the terms "Scythians" and "Inḍo-Scythians" have the same connotations, and serve the same purpose. We know that scholars confused "Pahlavas" with "Pallavas" and committed many mistakes based on this assumption. In the same way, they have confused the Scythians with Chasṭhaṇa kṣatraps, who belonged to an entirely different race. We shall show here that they were quite different from each other. Again, the Pārthians never came to India, and hence their account was left out. Only the account of Inḍo-Pārthians was given, because they ruled in India. It is another case with the Śakas. Both the Scythians and the Inḍo-Scythians came to India and ruled for several years. So, the accounts of both will find a place here. The Chasṭhaṇa kṣatraps were known to scholars as kings of the "Śāha or Sinha or Sen" dynasty and were confused by them with the kings of "Śāhi" dynasty. Details about both will be given here, so that the reader may have a clear idea about both.

It is my intention here to show the differences between:—
(1) Scythians; (2) Inḍo-Scythians; (3) Śāha or Sen or Sinha kings
(4) Sāhi kings. We shall start with the last-named kings.

Several years ago Mr. Thomas wrote an article[1]:—"The Shaha kings of Saurashtra." It has now been definitely proved that these "Śāh" kings were a branch of the Chasṭhaṇa dynasty.

(1) J. R. A. S. Vol. 12, pp. 1 to 63.

Their rule is said to have begun by the end of the 1st century A. D.[2]. We know that the rule of Nahapāṇ ended in B. C. 74.[3] The thing we have to find out is, who ruled over Saurāṣṭra from 74 B. C. to 78 A. D. (?) Was it under the direct control of the kings of Avantī or of the Āndhra kings? On the authority of rock-inscription it has been proved that the dynasty of Ṛṣabhadatta,[4] the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ, ended in 78 A. D. * during the time of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi[5]. We know that Ṛṣabhadatta was a Śaka. So, this means that the Śakas, the descendants of Ṛṣabhadatta, ruled somewhere from 74 B. C. to 78 A. D. No details have hitherto been published about Ṛṣabhadatta and his dynasty. And historians have confused the "Śāhi" kings with the Chaṣṭhaṇa kṣatraps. Would it not have been better in the interests of history, to keep silence, when they were not themselves sure about anything?

Distinctions

Mr. Thomas states on pp. 48:-"Thirteen Sah kings, all date in the 4th century of what may be assumed to refer to the Sri Harsh era, 457 B. C. (i. e. they ruled from B. C. 157[6] to B. C. 57)" Now Harsh ruled over Kanoj in the 7th century A. D. His rule began in 633 A. D. That means that the Śah kings ruled in the 10th century A. D. But this is absurd. Mr. Thomas himself gives the dates as B. C. 157 to B. C. 57. It may be that the "Harśa" in question may have been some other individual,

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(2) Scholars believe that it began in 78 A. D. I believe that the date is still later. Details about this are given in Vol. IV.

(3) Vide his account above.

(4) Scholars believe that both Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhdatta were of the Śaka origin.

* For my views vide the account of Ṛṣabhadatta in the next chapter and f. n. nos. 22 & 23 below.

(5) See the inscription at Nāsik by queen Balaśrī, the grand-mother of Gautamiputra Śātakaraṇi.

(6) We do not know how he struck upon the number B. C. 157. He may have fixed it up, in order to connect the "Śahi" kings with the end of the rule of Menanḍer. (f. n. no. 9 below).

who ruled in B. C. 457[7]. In this connection, Sir Cunningham says[8]:—" The epoch of Sah kings (See Mr. Thomas Essay pp. 45) of Saurashtra is fixed between B. C. 157[9] and B. C. 57[10]; and he places the Indo-Scythians between the Shah kings and the Guptas". This means that Saurāṣṭra was under the power of the Indo-Scythians between B. C. 57 and the beginning of the rule of the Guptas over it. Sir Cunningham is of the opinion that the Indo-Scythians conquered Saurāṣṭra in B. C. 26. Then he further states:—" Sah alphabet is certainly posterior to the Sanchi inscriptions.[11] It agrees with the period which I assign to it from A. D. 222 (The beginning of the Indo-Scythian decline) to A. D. 380, the accession of Samudragupta." Later on he states[12]— " From A. D. 250, I would date the independence of the Sah kings and the issue of their silver coins, which was a direct copy in weight and partly in type from the Philopater drachmas of Apollodotus......The author of the Periplus of Erythroean Sea, who lived between 117 and 180 A. D. states that ancient drachmas of Apollodotus and of Menander were then current at Barygaza. This prolonged currency of the Greek drachmas points directly to the period of the Indo-Scythian rule." In short, Sir Cunningham holds the opinion that the Śah kings[13] ruled after the time of

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(7) J. R. A. S. vol. 12, pp. 44. f. no. 1. " The original Sri Harsha commencing 457 B. C."

[Note:—The date of the beginning of the dynasty of Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era, is 453 B. C., i. e. very near to 457 B. C. Harṣavardhan is also called Vikramāditya. So the word "Harsha" may have been used here in this sense.]

(8) Vide pp. 146, "The Bhilsa Topes"

(9) He may have struck upon this date with the belief that Menander died in that year (This date however is now put as B. C. 159: vide supra pp. 115).

(10) The Vikrama era began in B. C. 57.

(11) I have proved in the account of Priyadarśin that the Sāñchī Stūpas were erected by him.

(12) Vide pp. 149, "The Bhilsa Topes".

(13) By the word "Śāha", here, he means the kings of the Chaṣṭhana dynasty.

Menander and before the beginning of the Gupta dynasty; while Mr. Thomas believes that the Śāha[14] kings preceded both the Chaṣṭhaṇa and the Gupta dynasties.

Let us look to the opinion held by Sir Cunningham. We know that the Sāñchī Stūpa was erected by Priyadarśin, whose time was 250 B. C. Again, the similarity between the coins of the Śaha kings and those of Menander, points to the fact that Menander preceded them. The coins of the Śāha kings, on the other hand, were personally seen by one who lived from 117 to 180 A. D. So, the Śaha kings must have ruled sometime between 159 B. C.[15] the year of Menander's death and A. D. 117 at the least.

We may now turn to the contention of Mr. Thomas. He believes that the Śaha kings ruled from B. C. 157 to 57 B. C. He is not very definite about B. C. 57. He would not have objected to taking it further to B. C. 26. He also believes that after the end of the Śāha dynasty, the Indo-Scythians became masters of Saurāṣṭra. Thirteen kings are said to have comprised this dynasty[16]. Their names are given in the foot-note below. He believes that these "Śāha" kings were of the Indian origin and belonged to the Gupta family. Later researches, however, have definitely proved that the "Śāha" kings were a branch of the Chaṣṭhaṇs. Again, it is not known what the relation was between the first and the

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(14) By the word "Śāha", here, he means the descendants of Ṛṣabhadatta.

(15) J. R. A. S. Vol. 12, pp. 45:—" It is generally held that Demetrius invaded India, sometime closely anterior to, if not contemporaneously with, the date above suggested, as that of the establishment of the Sah dynasty of Gujerat".

[The word "Śāh" is to be taken here in the sense of the dsnasty of Ṛṣabhadatta].

(16) J. R. A. S. Vol. 12, pp. 49: The names of 14 kings are given there as follows:—

[1] Iṣvardatta (the son of Varṣa).
[2] Rudraśāh (Sinha), : the son of Svāmi Jivdāman.
[3] Asdāman : " " " No. 2.
[4] Dāmśāh : " " " No. 2.

second "Śāha" kings. Mr. Rapson says[17]:—"The coin legends of Ishwardatta differs from those of the western Kṣatraps in recording the regnal year and omitting the patronymics". This means that the coins of Chaṣṭhaṇs and those of Iśvardatta show clearly that the latter belonged to quite a different race[18].

From what Sir Cunningham and Mr. Rapson say, it transpires that:—(1) The Śāha kings ruled sometime between B. C. 159 to A. D. 117. (2) They are not of the Indian origin. They are foreigners. (3) They are different from the Chaṣṭhaṇs. Mr. Rapson believes that Iśvardatta and his descendants were natives of Saurāṣṭra and must have been ancestors of the Ābhir kings of Junāgaḍh, of the Rā dynasty.

Let us now turn to other sources for further details, about these much discussed "Śāha" kings. History tells us that during the 275 years from B. C. 159 to A. D. 117; Saurāṣṭra came successively under the power of four dynasties, namely, (1) The Gardabhīla dynasty (which is not much known in history, and the details about which will be given at the end of this volume);

[5]	Vijayśāh	:	"	"	"	No. 4.
[6]	Virdām	:	"	"	"	No. 4.
[7]	Damjātśriya	:	"	"	"	No. 4.
[8]	Rudraśāh II	:	"	"	"	No. 6.
[9]	Viśvasinha	:	"	"	"	No. 8.
[10]	Rudraśāh III	:	"	"	"	No. 8.
[11]	Atridam	:	"	"	"	No. 8.
[12]	Viśvaśāh	:	"	"	"	No. 11.
[13]	Svāmi Rudradām	:	(no coins).			
[14]	Svāmi Rudraśāh (IV)	:	"	"	"	No 13.

The author has found out these names and their relations with one another from a study of their coins.

(17) C. A. R. Intro pp. 191.

(18) He means that:—(A) The coins of Chaṣṭhaṇs state the relations of one king with the other; while the coins of Iśvardatta do not. (B) The Chaṣṭhaṇa coins have the date only; while the coins of Iśvardatta definitely state that a particular coin was struck in a certain year of his reign. So, the coins prove that Iśvardatta had no connection with the Chaṣṭhaṇs.

(2) The Śātakarṇi kings of the Āndhra dynasty, (3) The Indo-Scythians (Ṛṣabhadatta and his descendants); (4) The Chaṣṭhaṇs. Of these the first two are Indian dynasties. Hence we need not bother about them, because the "Śāha" kings were definitely of the foreign origin. We have shown above that the "Śāha" kings were different from the Chaṣṭhaṇs. So we arrive at the conclusion that they were none else but "Ṛṣabhadatta" and his descendants. Several proofs can be given in support of this contention. In the first place, the name of the first "Śāha" king, according to Mr. Thomas, is Iśvardatta. The name of Nahapāṇ's son-in-law is Ṛṣabhadatta. We have shown that the Kṣaharāṭs were all of them devout Jains. So was his son-in-law a Jain. The name of the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkar is Ṛṣabhadev. So, Ṛṣabhadatta may well call himself Iśvardatta also[19]. Secondly, Ṛṣabhadatta describes himself as belonging to the Śaka nobility[20]. The Śakas who settled in India were called Indo-Scythians. The Scythians called themselves "Śahenśāhī"[21], i. e. overlords of all the chiefs who had gone to foreign countries and settled there. So Ṛṣabhadatta, out of respect for the rulers of his mother-land, may well have given a shortened name like "Śāhī" or "Śāha" to his dynasty. Fourthly, from the view-point of dates also, there comes out no discordant note. Ṛṣabhadatta was a contemporary of Nahapāṇ and his descendants ruled over Saurāṣṭra upto A. D. 78[22], when

(19) It is better to say that Iśverdatta was the father of Ṛṣabhdatta. "Dinik" has been stated as the name of the father of Ṛṣabhadatta. It is probable that Dinik may have been a deteriorated from of " Datta ". (This point has been found to be wrong, vide later on Ch. XI).

(20) See the Nāsik rock-inscription No. 32. (C. A. R. Intro pp. 58).

(21) Kāliksūri, a Jaina monk, brought the Śakas in order to defeat Gardabhil, the king of Avanti. These Śaka chiefs were called " Śahenśāhe Śāhi" Details will be given in the account of Gardabhila dynasty.

"The king of kings" was the title of the Persian ruling family. "Śahenśāhe Śāhi" was the title of the Śaka overlord.

(22) According to my opinion the date is different. But we are not concerned with that here.

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi[23] massacred them one and all. That means that the dynasty of Ṛṣabhadatta ruled from B. C. 74[24] to A. D. 78. It consisted of nearly 13 to 14 kings[25].

One thing remains to be cleared here. Mr. Thomas has confused "Śāha" with "Śāhi" kings. The "Śāha" kings, as we have already shown, were a branch of the Chasṭhaṇa family; while the "Śāhi" kings were Indo-Scythians. The first "Śāhi" king was Ṛṣabhadatta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ. The "Śāhi" kings ruled from 74 B. C. to 78 A. D. The "Śāha" kings were descendants of Chasṭhaṇ[26]. So, the reader has to understand wherever the term "Śāha" is used in the foregoing pages, it is used in the sense of "Śāhi". He may also look to the footnotes for further guidance.

The difference between Scythians & Indo-Scythians

The terms "Scythians" and "Indo-Scythians" are not so simple as the terms "Pārthians" and "Indo-Pārthians". In the case of the latter, those of the Pahlavas who never came to the shores of India, were called Pārthians; while those who migrated to, and settled in, India were called Indo-Pārthians.

The home of the Scythians was Śeistān[27]. To distinguish between the terms "Scythians" and "Indo-Scythians", is, of course, not as difficult as the problem which we have just discussed above[28]. Western scholars are very clear, and know what they say, when they have to deal with races of European origin—the Greeks, the Bactrians and so on. But when they come to grips with the races of Asiatic origin, they have blundered many a time.

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(23) The date, i. e. A. D. 78, is not given in the rock-inscription. That is fixed by the scholars. We shall discuss this later on.

(24) Vide his account given in the next chapter.

(25) According to Mr. Thomas the "Śāh" dynasty consisted of 13 kings. (Vide above).

(26) "Sāha" (The real name is "Sinha") dynasty was the dynasty of Chasṭhaṇa, while the "Śāhi" dynasty was founded by Ṛṣabhadatta.

(27) This was the first home of the Śakas. (Vide pp. 98).

(28) Read my note at the end of the previous paragraph above.

To all such races they have given the general name Scythians or Indo-Scythians[29]. For instance, they have stated that Mauses (a Pārthian), Chaṣṭhaṇ (belonging to an altogether different race), Nahapāṇ and Bhūmak and many others were all Scythians. Hence, for the clarification of the problem in hand, there is little of hope of enlightenment from these western scholars.

Let us turn to other sources of information. In the Nāsik inscription, Ṛṣabhadatta has got it inscribed that he was a Śaka[30]. Was he a "Scythian" or an "Indo-Scythian"? We know that Ṛṣabhadatta spent most part of his life in India[31]. Not only that, but he came here as a boy with his father. In short, he was a member of the Scythian group which came to, and settled in India for good. The dynasty which he founded is called "Śāhī" as we have seen in the preceding paragraph. This proves that the "Śāhī" dynasty and "Indo-Scythians" are synonymous terms. Now, then, whom shall we call Scythians? The home of both is, of course, Śeistān. Probably those chiefs, who came to India as conquerors and whose historical importance was simultaneous with their entry into India, were called Scythians. Thus, the Indo-Scythians were those who came to India and then slowly and slowly, established and consolidated their power and became famous in history. While the Scythians were those who were powerful at home, who came to India as conquerors from the first and who ruled in India from the day of their entry into it, to the day of their withdrawal.

Probably the title "Śahenśahe Śāhī" was assumed by Śaka rulers at home. Late Dewan Bahadur K. H. Dhruv has written a long article on this point, based on the authority of Yugapurāṇ[32]. On pp. 90, he states that the Śakas invaded Avantī. Jaina books state that the Śakas were invited to fight against Gardabhīl, the king of Avantī, by a Jaina monk named Kāliksūri[33]. They also

(29) Vide the accounts of these peeple for proofs.

(30) Read f. n. no. 20 above.

(31) Some details about him are given in the account of Nahapāṇ. A connected account of Ṛṣabhadatta, the reader will find in Chapter X.

(32) Buddhi-Prakaś, Vol. 76, No. 3, 1929, March, pp. 88 to 103.

(33) Details abqut this will be given in the account of Gardabhil at

tell us that the home of these Śakas was "Pāraskūl"[34], and that they had the title "Śahenśāhe Śāhī". This makes it clear that the Śakas had invaded Avantī, conquered it, and ruled there for several years. These Śakas, we may well call "Scythians" in order to distinguish them from "Indo-Scythians".

Now we know the difference between Indo-Pārthians and Indo-Scythians. The former came to India as conquerors from the first, and their rule began in India simultaneously with their entry into it. The Indo-Scythians, on the other hand, had come to India long before they came to power. Those, whom we call "Scythians", came into India as conquerors from the first like the Indo-Pārthians. Their account will be given separately. But their rule over Avantī is so short[35] that instead of devoting a separate chapter to it, we have incorporated it in the account of the Gardabhīla dynasty.[36]

The history of the Śakas

All the natives of Śeistān were known by the general name Scythians. Those of them, who came to India, got the name Indo-Scythians.[37] Now we shall try to trace the origin of the Scythians. While describing the geography of Jambūdwīp, we have stated that in its centre was a region around Asian Turkey,

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the end of this book. Some references to it are made on pp. 63—64. f. n. nos. 5-6 in connection with Kāliksūri. Some more details will be given in chapter of the accounts of Ṛṣabhadatta and of Devaṇak.

(34) For details about this, vide the two previous chapters on the Pahlavas.

(35) Such periods are commonly known in history as "Interregnum". Their duration has been found to be any time from four months to seven years. Vide Vol. II, pp. 238 f. n. no. 71. Two such periods are found in the history of the rulers of Ceylon. The first lasted for a year, and the other, for six years. One such period is found during the rule of the Nandas also, though it was not an interregnum in its proper sense.

(36) The rule of the Śakas has been called an interregnum, because it was nothing but a break in the rule of the Gardabhila dynasty, which ruled before, and after it. Much notice has not been taken of this in history. This neglect has given rise to many mistakes and confusions, to which we shall have occasion to refer later on.

(37) The Indo-Scythians are nothing but a branch of Scythians.

which included Tāskand and Samarkand.[38] Various tribes were living in this region. Later on they began to disintegrate and go into different directions. One of the larger tribes settled in the region around the river Oxus. Mr. Vincent Smith[39] says:—"The Sakai people and allied tribes came from the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes[40] (Strabo). They occupied the Kashager and Yarkand[41] territories in the time of Darius."[42] A portion of these people proceeded towards east to China and the other portion proceeded towards Afghanistan and Persia in the south. The more civilized portion of these people settled[43] around the lake Hāman[44] and the remaining lived scattered around that region. The region around lake Hāman was at that time called Śeistān and the people who settled there began to be called

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(38) Vide supra pp. 88 and pp. 95 & seq. Read the extract quoted below from Mr. Vincent Smith.

(39) Vide E. H. I. 3rd. ed. pp. 249, f. n. 1.

(40) The name of the river at present is Oxus or Amu Darya. (Vide pp. 88.).

(41) It is doubtful whether the power of Darius extended upto this region. We do not enter into details about it because we are not much concerned with it here. It is important, however, to note that the people in question had settled in the region some years before the time of Darius. The statement made above may be in reference to a group that came in that region later on. (Vide pp. 98. Read also f. n. 44 below).

(42) Vide pp. 98 for details about this. This will make it clear that the origin of the Āryans was not in the region around Mt. Caucasus, as is commonly believed, but in Asian Turkey. Of course, when the Āryans came to India, from this region, they were not so civilized as they became after their stay in India.

(43) The natural beauty in which lake was clad may have had some civilizing effect upon them. They had certainly developed, more of culture in them than their brethern staying far off in the plains around. (Vide pp. 95. the paragraph "Some more details about the foreign invaders"; also cf. f. n. no. 44 below.).

(44) C. H. I. P. 338:—"The term Saka may possibly allude to Sakasthana (Seistan) and dwellers around the region of Hamam lake...The Saka was one of the 23 provinces (Satarapies) under the great Persian king Darius", cf. f. nos. 41 and 43 above.

Śakas.[45] (Vide pp. 98 above). As time went on, these people, who at first reared cattle and horses, and were in many ways wild, began to become more and more cultured and civilized[46]. Of course, some of them still clung to the old forms of life[47]. It is believed that the writers of our Śrutis and Upniṣads came from these civilized portions of the Śakas, in about 10th century B. C.. Some five centuries later, the same region came under the power of the Persian emperors Cyrus and Darius. At almost the same time, Mahāvīr and Buddha were born in India.

On the north of Śeistān was the home of the Bactrians, on the west were Pārthians, and on the east were the Kṣaharāṭas and the natives of Sind. Naturally, all these people came into close contact with one another, and learnt many things from one another.[48] Close political and commercial relations also existed amongst them. The people who inhabited the northern region of Śeistān and who were not large in number, had connections and communications with Indian people, through the Khaiber pass. The people on the south of Śeistān, who were large in number, were not also without relations with India through the Bolan pass.[49] The people of the north mixed with the Indians, as a result of which came into being the Kṣaharāṭa race (who spoke the Kharoṣṭhi language[50]), and from whom was born Pāṇini,

(45) Historians have used the term "Śaka" in the sense, "The natives of Śeistān". I have used the term in the same sense. The common opinion about them in ancient India has been given on pp. 98. f. n. 19, where an extract from M. S. I. is quoted:—"According to Manu, the Śakas were divided into the Kambojas, the Pahlavas, the Paradas and the Yavanas". This means that according to the ancients, the term Śaka was not confined to the natives of Śeistān only.

(46) Vide chap. VII, the accounts of the origin of the Pārthians.

(47) To understand the meaning of this statement, read f. nos. 45, 46 above. It will be then clear that the Pārthians also were a part of the Śakas, though a less civilized part.

(48) Todd Rājasthān (Printed at the Vinkateśvera Press), Part I, pp. 2.; "Bhagvān Parśvanāth" (Printed at Surat, 1927), pp. 234, "In ancient times Bhārat and Śākadwīp were closely associated with each other".

(49) For details about means of communication between India and the countries on the other side of the mountain ranges, Vide pp. 248. and sequel.

(50) The people spread themselves in Kamboj and Gāndhār.

the great grammarian. The people of the south mixed with the people of Sind and of Sauvir[51]—the western part of Rajputānā at present, but we do not know what new name they got. In ancient books it has stated that many rivers[52] flowed into the Indus, both from its east and from its west. The region lying between two of these rivers was called Brahmadwīp.[53] One of the tributaries of the Indus was the Sarasvatī[54]. The territory lying between these various tributaries of the Indus and Brahmadwīp were occupied by these southern people who came to India via Bolan pass. The northern portion of the Śakas was, as we have said, very small, and most of them settled in Kamboj, and did not go further. The remaining small portion came to India and settled there quietly and inconspicuously. So, they lost their nationality and were absorbed by India. The portion of Śakas, which came to India via Bolan pass[55], as we have already seen, was large enough, and many fresh groups poured in, now and then and added to its numerical strength.[56] Many of their members had distinguished themselves in political and other fields.[57] Several of them had established themselves as rulers over small provinces or large ones in India.[58] Hence they are well-known in history as Indo-Scythians.[59]

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(51) For geographical and other details about this region vide Vol. I, pp. 210 & seq.

(52) Vide Vol. 1, pp. 212.

(53) Here the word "Dwīp" is used in the seuse of delta. In those times a delta was generally called Dwīp. (Vide pp. 93., the details about Śakadwīp).

(54) Cf. f. n. 52; Vide Vol. II, pp. 173.

(55) This shows that the Śakas did not come to India via Khaibar pass. All the Śakas came via Bolan pass and by still southern routes. (Mauses is supposed to have come to India through Sind).

(56) Read further for the number of such groups.

(57) As instances of this, we may give the names of those great men who contributed a lot to the enrichment and spread of the Vedic religion. Chāṇakya, the famous economist, statesman and prime-minister of Chandragupta, is also an example of this.

(58) For instance, the Śāhi dynasty founded by "Ṛṣabhadatta".

(59) Asia Res. Vol. V, pp. 266:—" The Indo-Scythians are generally known as the Sakas".

The territory on the west of the Indus was a part of the Persian empire, while the territory on the east of the same river was a part of India. After the rule of the Persian emperors Cyrus and Darius (B. C. 486), tribes of people living on the west of the Indus, migrated to the east of the same river, and thus came to India. This may have been due to a political upheaval there or due to trade contingencies or due to the tyrannical or weak rule of the successors of Cyrus and Darius. At the same time, during the rule of Keśikumār, who succeeded Udāyan on the throne of Sauvir, a gigantic sandstorm engulfed and buried the whole of Sauvir territory and transformed it into the desert of Jesalmir.[60] Most of the survivors of this calamity, went towards north India and settled in the regions now known as Bhāvalpur state and Jodhpur state.[61] A large portion, however, was buried underground together with numerous cities, villages and rivers[62]. This was the time when a large group (First in number) of the Śakas came to India. This was the time when the city, now known as Bhinnamāl, was founded.[63] Another large city founded at about the time was called Ośiānagari[64] probably the capital of that

(60) Vide vol. I, pp. 217 and further. For details about the havoc wrought by this calamity, the reader is requested to read "The Antiquities of Sind" by Henry Cousins.

(61) The forefathers of Chāṇakya belonged to this group. Many Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and others also migrated at this time. Most of them must have been followers of the Vedic religion, because the composers of the Śrutis were born in Śakasthān. In about B. C. 450, a certain Jaina monk converted people in Jainism by lacs. (Vide vol. II, pp. 174). These converts were these emigrants. Thus the forefathers of Chāṇakya were converted to Jainism at this time. (Vide vol. II, pp. 170 to pp. 174). The Ośvāl Jains and many others are descendants of these people.

(62) The sand storm did not come at once and in huge outwards. It lasted for about a week. Thus people had ample warning to evacuate and go to safer places. This shows that loss of human life must not have been very considerable. Buildings and other immovable property must have been destroyed to a great extent.

(63) For details about the importance of this city vide Vol. II, pp. 174.

(64) The city must have been very large, because over and above the native population, thousands of emigrants came and settled there. (F. n. no. 61 above).

region. I also believe that this portion of Rajputānā, being quite in the centre of India, was the same as Matsya or Madhya Deś, the capital of which was Madhyamikā[65]. We need not go into details about it here. We may also note that Priyadarśin had got numerous Jaina temples and other Jaina holy relics erected in this region.[66] The people living in this region were happy and prosperous. They had profited by trade and commerce, and their prosperity and thriving trade many a time attracted covetous notice of the foreigners towards them.

In about B. C. 250 Bactriā and Pārthiā became independent. (pp. 238 above). The Pārthian kingdom included within it Śeistān, the home of the Śakas, who were a hardy race loving independence more than anything else. So, they did not in any way like the political domination of Pārthians over them. They always strove to regain their freedom and rose into a rebellion whenever the time came for it. Upto the rule of Mithradates II, their efforts bore little fruit. But during the rule of weak successors like Phrates and Artebenes, they rebelled and became independent. A large group came to India. The author of C. H. I. states[67]:— "There is good evidence to show that the earlier Scythian settlements in Iran were re-inforced about the time when the first Śakas occupied Bactria[68]. The kings of Parthia were engaged in quarrels with their Scythian subject." This was the second large Śaka group that came to India. Fifty years prior to the

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(65) Vide the accounts of Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ. Details about Madhyamikā are given there.

(66) At present also many temples built by emperor Samprati of Avanti are found in Bikāner and Jesalmir states.

At other places also, temples were built by Samprati, alias Priyadarśin. But they were almost all of them destroyed by the Śungas. The temples referred to above survived because the Śunga rule did not extend over that region.

(67) C. H. I. pp. 567.

(68) They cannot properly be called "Śakas" at this time. Then, they were simply natives of the region around Samarkand and Yārkand. (Vide pp. above). The name "Śaka" can be given to them after their permanent settling down in Śeistān.

entry of this group, there had probably come to India, a smaller group[69] (third), but second group as regards time of settlement in India, during the rule of Vṛṣabhasen, the eldest son of Priyadarśin, over Avantī. At that time Bhūmak was ruling over central India, first as a Kṣatrap of Menander and then as an independent Mahākṣatrap. Bhūmak as well as all the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs followed, as we have already seen, Jainism[70]. The Śaka groups also, which came to India at this time, embraced Jainism. So, the new-comers imitated their predecessors and became followers of Jainism[71]. The father of Ṛṣabhadatta came to India with one of these groups. He became a favourite of Bhūmak, on account of his bravery and other noble qualities. As a result of this, Nahapāṇ's daughter Dakṣamitrā by name, was given in marriage to his son, named Ṛṣabhadatta. Thus, three Śaka groups came to India at different times, and all the three are known in history as Indo-Scythians. Over and above these, the Śakas came to India once, defeated the king of Avantī, and ruled there for several years. These Śakas are given the simple name of Scythians, in order to distinguish them from those, who came to India and settled there for good. The author of C. H. I.[72] gives the following divisions on the authority of Herodottus:—(1) The Śakas whose home was in the country of the river Jaxartes (the Syr Daria). (2) Those from the country of the river Helmand=Śakasthān=the abode of the Śakas = the later Persian Sijistān and the modern Śeistān. (3) The Scythians of Europe who inhabited the steppes of Russia to the north of the Black Sea=Śakatardarya=the Śakas over the sea". With the third group mentioned above we are not concerned[73]. The

(69) Vide part VI, the account of the Śakas.

(70) Vide the accounts of the Kṣaharāṭs for details about their religion. (pp. 204 and seq.).

(71) The missionaries of Priyadarśin had preached Jaina gospel to them even, while they were in their native place. Then, when they came to India, their inclination towards Jainism was intensified and they became Jains.

(72) Vide C. H. I. pp. 564.

(73) Herodottus must have made these divisions to show how the natives disintegrated and went into different directions. (Vide pp. 95 and seq.).

first group we have stated to have been not a part of the Śakas[74], but a group of the original inhabitants. With the second division we quite agree. From this and from the foot notes nos. 73 & 74, the reader will clearly see, that the most learned and the most reputed of the western scholars has not any clear ideas to offer on the Śakas. Indian scholars, on the other hand, have doggedly stuck to the theory that the inhabitants of Śākadwīp are called Śakas[75]; and that they have no connection with Śakasthān or Śeistān[76]. Western scholars have indiscriminately called Pārthians, Chaṣṭhaṇas, Kṣaharāṭas and Śakas, though they have no connection with Śeistān[77]. Not only that, but they impute to the Indian scholars all the blame for the confusions prevailing about the Śakas. One of them[78] says:—"The term Saka was used by the Indians, in a vague way to denote all foreigners from the other side of the passes without nice distinctions of race or tribe[79]."

The Śakas who came to India during the time of Bhūmak, settled in the Kṣaharāṭa territory and acknowledged the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs as their rulers. Most of them settled in Avantī. They adopted most of the Āryan ways of life and in course of time became so much mixed with the Indians by blood relationships and other social, political and religious ties, that it would be better to consider them as good as Indians, than to call them Indo-Scythians. Those Śakas who settled in Saurāṣṭra under the direct leadership of Ṛṣabhadatta, who founded the Śāhī dynasty there, we may well call Indo-Scythians.

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(74) The Śakas were neither the inhabitants of Śakadwīp nor the natives of Śeistān merely.

(75) Really speaking, the term "Śaka" must not have been current in very ancient times. (Vide pp. 92). The natives of Śākadwīp, may better have been called "Śakas". The term "Śaka" must have been used in connection with division no. 2, after the composition of the Vedas. (Vide pp. 88 and f. n. no. 19).

(76) Details about this have been given on pp. 90 to 95.

(77) All these things have been proved in the accounts of these people.

(78) Vide C. H. I. pp. 9.

(79) Vide pp. 95; f. n. no. 45; pp. 96; f. n. no. 47,



Chapter X

Foreign Invaders (Contd.)

(D) INDO-SCYTHIANS

THE ŚĀHĪ KINGS OF SAURĀṢṬRA :—

Synopsis:—(1) *Ṛṣabhadatta : The possible time of the entry of Indo-Scythians into India and the territory in which they first settled—Their first seat of capital; the cause of the change of their seat of capital—The founder of the Śāhī dynasty; his time—the relics of the Śāhī dynasty—The relation between the Ābhirs of Saurāṣṭra and of Mahārāṣṭra and the relation of both with the Śāhī dynasty—Traits inherited by the Ābhirs from their Śāhī ancestry; examples—The nobility of the outlaws of Saurāṣṭra; to what is it due?—*

The territorial extent of Ṛṣabhadatta; the things which he did for the welfare of his subjects; meanings of the terms " Śaka," " Śāhī " and " Śahenśāhī."

(2) *Devaṇak:—His times and his contemporaries—His sympathetic attitude towards his own people,—the Śakas and its adverse political consequences—the extermination of the Śakas due to the joint efforts of Śakāri Vikramāditya and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi—the consequent liberation of the Indians from their tyrannical rule—the end of the Śāhī dynasty; the dynastic list.*

(1) ṚṢABHADATTA

When Nahapāṇ died without leaving a male issue behind him, the nearest claimant to the throne was his son-in-law Ṛṣabhadatta.

The entry of the Indo-Scythians into India and the place of their settlement

Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta were on excellent terms throughout the life of the former. In spite of this however, history tells us that it was not Ṛṣabhadatta who ascended the throne of Avantī after the death of Nahapāṇ. Probably he was not present in Avantī at the time of Nahapāṇ's death, and hence, some other chief[1] must have seized the throne. Ṛṣabhadatta, probably, was appointed as governor of a province far from Avantī[2]-probably of Madhyadeś[3] which was on the west of the Arvalli hills. Of course, on hearing the news of the death of Nahapāṇ, he must have hastened towards Avantī, by taking the shortest route through Śirohi, on the south of Arvalli Hills, and through the foot of Mt. Abu and Gujarat; but while still on his way, he must have received news that some other chief had already seized the throne.[4] Hence, he decided that it was best to proclaim himself as independent ruler of the territory under his power. The Śāhi dynasty began on the day of this decision. Upto this time the seat of his capital was Bhinnamāl[5] which was situated near modern Śirohi. But now, he changed the seat of his capital to Saurāṣṭra. This change may have been due to various reasons. In the first place, it was Bhinnamāl from which he had started with high hopes. When those hopes ended in smoke, he thought it better to change the seat of his capital to some other province and thus stave off his disgrace. Secondly, he must have seen that should any favourable opportunity occur fascilitating his recovery of the throne to which he was entitled, the plains

(1) For details about him, vide the account of the Gardabhīla dynasty.

(2) Probably he dropped the idea of trying to wrest the throne from the usurper, because he was very old. This is a mere surmise.

(3) Vide the account of Nahapāṇ for details about the seat of his capital.

(4) This was nothing but an act of usurpation.

(5) F. n. no. 3 above. (Details about Madhyadeś should be read in conjunction with this).

of Gujarat would be more suitable to a rapid march towards Avantī than the hilly region in which Bhinnamāl was situated. Thirdly, from the view-point of religion, Saurāṣṭra was certainly preferable to Bhinnamāl. The Kṣaharāṭs and the Indo-Scythians, we know, were staunch Jains.[6] Girinagar in Saurāṣṭra was one of the holiest places of Jains. Thus, on account of various reasons, Ṛṣabhadatta changed the seat of his capital from Bhinnamāl to Girinagar[7]. Of course, his rule extended over both Rājputānā and Saurāṣṭra, as it did before he proclaimed himself independent.

With this change[8] in the seat of capital, there also took place mass emigration of the population of Bhinnamāl. Most of the rich bourgeoisie and the aristocracy also migrated to Saurāṣṭra. Some of them settled in Cutch which they had to cross on their way to Saurāṣṭra.[9] The people who settled in Cutch were rather quite middle class, and hence in Cutch they took to agriculture and to rearing cattle[10]. These emigrants maintained relations with their relatives, who had preferred to stick to Bhinnamāl.

The descendants of the Indo-Scythians

Of the many dynasties that ruled over Mahārāṣṭra in south India, the name of one was Rāṣṭrik[11] or Raṣṭrakūt[12] or Traikūtak. Dantidurg, the sixth in the line, is said to have ruled over Mahārāṣṭra in about 750 A. D. This means that the dynasty must have begun in about 670 A. D., taking into account the years of the rule of the first five kings. No one, however, is definite about

(6) Vide part VI, chap. VI; also pp. 206 & seq.

(7) It is on account of this reason that they are called The Śāhī Kings of Saurāṣṭra.

(8) Some more details about this change will be given further in this chapter.

(9) Cf. f. n. no. 25 below.

(10) Even at present the people residing in this part of Cutch are agriculturists. For the reason why most of these agriculturists are Osvāls and Śrīmāls, read the details about Gūrjaras given in the following pages.

(11) Read f. n. nos. 13 and 21 below; vide next chap. XI.

(12) This is the acknowledged and more commonly accepted name. Their descendants call themselves by this name.

the founder of the dynasty. Some hold the opinion that the dynasty was founded by one Iśvardatta, an Ābhir[13], in about 3rd or 4th century A. D. We have stated above that according to Mr. Thomas[14], the founder of the Śāhi dynasty was one Iśvardatta, who lived in the first century A. D. Later on, it was found out that the Śāh dynasty, about which Mr. Thomas wrote the article, was a branch of the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty, which began, as scholars declare, in 78 A. D. In short, history definitely tells us that a person named Iśvardatta[15] lived in about the 1st century[16], that he lived in Mahārāṣṭra and that he was a member of the Ābhira race.[17] This is the first thing to be noted. The second thing which should be conjunctively noted here is that Ṛṣabhadatta was the founder of the Śāhī dynasty. His father's name was Iśvardatta. As Ṛṣabhadatta lived in the latter half of the 2nd century B. C., his father's time may reasonably be fixed up as the former half of the same century. We know that

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(13) These kings of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty are said to have descended from the Ābhirs. Read f. n. no. 21 below. A writer has said that these Ābhirs were none else but Āndhra-Bhṛtyas, because of their residence in the south. On pp. 644 of H. H. it is stated:—"Ābhirs were not foreigners; the name Ābhir originated from Āndhra-bhṛtyas (servants of the Āndhras). The Matsya Purāṇ states that seven Āndhra kings sprang from the servants of the original dynasty".

[Note : We can draw the following conclusions from the above-quoted extract:—(1) The Ābhirs are not foreigners. (Read my views about the Indo-Scythians). (2) The Ābhirs descended from Āndhra-bhṛtyas. (3) The Āndhra-bhṛtyas were seven in number. (4) "Ābhir" is a term as ancient as "Āndhra-bhṛtya". Of these four, all except number 2, are correct. (For no. 2. Vide vol. II, pp. 97, f. n. no. 95 and pp. 112, f. n. no. 45; and vide vol. IV).]

(14) Vide pp. 269, f. n. no. 16. Other scholars also (thanks to the suggestion of Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajī), are inclined to believe that Iśvardatta was an Ābhir. (Read f. n. no. 20 below. (Vide C. A. R. Intro. para. 110 & 135). His time has been fixed up about A. D. 249.

(15) Vide pp. 270, f. n. no. 17. How could there have been coins bearing his name, had there been no Iśvardatta ?

(16) He lived before the 1st century B. C. (Infra. point no. 4).

(17) The Ābhirs are said to have settled about the region of the source of the Godāvarī; cf. f. n. no. 13 and the text of f. n. no. 14 above.

Ṛṣabhadatta and his people were Śakas and that their original occupation was the rearing of cattle.[18] After their coming to India also, they had continued in their occupation. They were very skilful archers[19]. The name of Ṛṣabhadatta is found in the inscriptions at Nāsik, Junner and other places in the south. Due to this reason, scholars believe that Nahapāṇ must have sent Ṛṣabhadatta to south to fight battles against his enemies. Naturally, Ṛṣabhadatta's father must have accompanied his son in his expeditions to the south.[20] Probably, while fighting in one of these battles, he must have died and his name[21] must have been preserved in that country.[22] Again, the Śakas who accompanied Iśvardatta and Ṛṣabhadatta to this country may have settled there, and Āhiras there [23] may be the descendants of these Śakas.[24]

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(18) Read the extract quoted on pp. 238.

(19) Vide ante, pp. 67. Balamitra died by an arrow thrown at him by a skilled archer.

On the same page, in f. n. no. 17, are stated details about king Gardabhīl. That is also an example of the masterful archery of the Śakas. More details will be given later on.

The Śakas were equally noted for their highly respectful behaviour towards women. This trait continued for centuries in their descendants. Instances will be given as occasions arise for them.

(20) It is probable that there were two individuals bearing the name "Iśvardatta". One was the father of Ṛṣabhadatta; and the second was the one referred to in C. A. R. This second one proclaimed his independence against the Chaṣṭhaṇas in A. D. 249 and established his own rule, assuming the title Mahākṣatrap, in the region around the Godāvarī. He minted his coins also. (Vide C. A. R. pp. 124). The details about his race are, however, not given. (Read f. n. nos. 14 and 15 above).

(21) Those of the Śakas, who had accompanied Iśvardatta and who survived the battles, settled for good in the country. Later on they came under the rule of the Śātakarṇi kings of the Āndhra dynasty. Much later still, they founded their own dynasty and called it "Rāṣṭrakūṭa".

(22) The original home of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings is stated to have been in Govardhan-Samay, the region around the source of the Godāvarī. This hilly region was quite suitable to these cattle-breeding people.

(23) Cf. f. n. no. 22.

(24) The Śakas ruled over this country for at least 50 years, during the

The third thing which simultaneously deserves our notice is that the origin of the Āhirs or Ābhirs of Saurāṣṭra is traced as far back as the 2nd or 3rd century A. D., and in Saurāṣṭra itself. Again, the chief occupation of these Āhirs was cattle-rearing and horse-breeding. They were very accomplished riders, and later on they established their rule over Saurāṣṭra. The famous Rā'[25] or Rāh kings[26] or Saurāṣṭra, whose dynasty is said to have begun in the 8 th century A. D. (but which may really have begun much earlier[27], are said to be the descendants of the Ābhirs, who had many traits of character which they must have inherited from the Śakas[28]. They respected their women-folk to a high degree[29]. The way in which Rā' Khengār[30] defended, to the end of his

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rules of Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta. There was ample time for them to settle in the country.

(25) Some of the Rā' kings were Rā' Khengār, Rā' Noughaṇ, Rā' Grahāripu. The seat of their capital was Girinagar or Jīrṇadūrga or Junāgaḍh.

(26) The kings of Cutch are called (Rāh) Rāo. It remains to be found out whether these Rāos are in any way connected with the Rā's of Saurāṣṭra. Cf. the matter connected with f. n. no. 9 above.

(27) The origin of the Rā' dynasty is not yet definitely traced. Their ancestors were at the height of their power in the 8th century A. D. This means that the dynasty must have begun much earlier.

(28) F. n. no. 19 above, the last portion.

(29) F. n. no. 19 above, the last portion.

(30) The extract quoted below may prove useful reading in connection with this. While writing about Nahapāṇ, the author states:—"Kshaharata was pronounced long ago to resemble Phrahates, one of the Arsacidae by Dr. Stephenson; but he supposed Nahapana was a viceroy of Phrahates—Dr. Bhau Daji thinks (J. B. B. R. A. VIII, pp. 239) Kshaharata and Phrahates is the same; again, this Kshaharata is spelt Khagrata which is the Magadhi form of Kshaharata. The popular name of Khengar in Kathiawar (as he supposes) is derived from Khagrata". The extract gives us to understand at least one thing, that the terms "Kṣaharāṭ", Khagrāṭ and Khengār" are connected with one another in some way. We may deduce from this that Nahapāṇ who was a Kṣaharāṭ must have some resemblance with Khengār, in some hereditary traits.

[Note : We will not bother ourselves as to how far the terms "Phrates", "Kṣaharāṭ", "Khagrāṭ" and "Khengār" are etymologically connected with one another. It may be noted here, however, that any non-sensical statement by a famous and well-reputed writer is taken most seriously by all, just

life, his wife's (Rāṇakdeviś) honour[31] from the clutches of Siddharāj, is too well known to be dwelt upon here. The outlaws of Kāthiāwār also, despite their many defects and shortcomings, always considered the chastity of a woman to be inviolate[32]. In short, the Ābhirs of Saurāṣṭra have many of the noble qualities of the Śakas, who once lived and ruled there. If we consider these three things conjointly, we cannot help coming to the conclusions which are given below:—(1) The Ābhirs of Saurāṣṭra and the Ābhirs of Mahārāṣṭra must be related to one another and must have a common origin. (2) The Ābhirs have inherited most of the Śaka traits like cattle-rearing, skill in archery, horsemanship, and respect for the fair sex. (3) The Trikūṭakas or the Rāṣtrakūṭas must be the descendants of the Ābhirs of Mahārāṣṭra and the Rā' or Rāh kings of Saurāṣṭra were the descendants of the Ābhirs of Saurāṣṭra. (4) The Śakas, after their settling down in Saurāṣṭra, shook off the bad traits of their race, and adopted the Āryan ways of life[33] so completely, that it would have been difficult to distinguish them from the Āryans themselves[3]. The Āhirs, whose origin is traced as far as 2nd century A. D., i. e. nearly two hundred years after the settling down of the Indo-Scythians in Saurāṣṭra, are the direct descendants of these Indo-Scythians[35].

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because, it comes from him. If a rather unknown student of history, on the other hand, presents a new theory to the world, and even if he spares no pains to substantiate it, with pieces of irrefutable evidence, the readers at large, scoff at him and smile cynically. The author of this book has become the target of all adverse criticism and cajolery, simply because he has dared to differ from well-known writers on some points.]

(31) A good instance of the chivalrous spirit of the Ābhirs.

(32) It is said that the outlaws never molest women, be they very cruel towards men, who accompany them. If any woman obliged an outlaw in any way, he would call her his "sister" and give her a suitable present on a particular day of the year.

(33) These changes in their character may also be due to their changes of place. Vide pp. 284.

(34) From this time onwards they may better be called Āryans. Cf. f. n. no. 35 below.

(35) The Ābhirs may better be called the remnants than direct descendants,

His names, and his time

His original name was Uṣabhadātta. In inscriptions and elsewhere, however, he has called himself "Ṛṣabhadatta". This may be due to the following reasons. (1) The Indo-Scythians had come to India with a view to permanent settlement. Naturally, they came into close contact with Indians and adopted many of their ways of life[36]. (2) The main reason, however is religious. We know that all the Kṣaharātas and Indo-Scythians were Jains[37]. "Ṛṣabhadev" is the name of the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkar. Hence, Ṛṣabhadatta, as the founder of a dynasty, must have taken a name for himself based on the name of the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkar[38]. The author of C. H. I.[39] says:—" Names ending in Varman and Datta show that they had become Hinduized and claimed to be kshatriyas[40]." This shows that the Śakas, half-civilized though they were when they came to India, became later on, very civilized, cultured and powerful.

We have seen that Ṛṣabhadatta had distinguished himself in many battles and had conquered many territories during the reigns of Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ. This means that he must have been at least 30 to 35 years old at that time. Bhūmak has no

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of the Śakas, because, inspite of the continuity of certain traits of character, the Ābhira ways of life widely differed from those of the Śakas.

(36) O. H. I. pp. 142:—"The tendency certainly was for Indo-Greek Princes and people to become Hinduized rather than for the Indian Rajas and their subjects to be Helinised".

(37) Vide pp. 204 & f. n. no. 6 on pp. 284.

(38) This supports f. n. nos. 36 and 37 above. This proves that originally they were foreigners. They settled for good in India. Vide pp. 271 and f. n. no. 19 there.

(39) C. H. I. pp. 577.

(40) From this we may understand that any one who distinguished himself in arms and battles could call himself Kṣatriya. A person may be a Brāhmaṇ, or a Vaiśya or even a Śūdra by birth. That did not matter. If he took a warlike profession, he could call himself Kṣatriya. Thus these four classes were based on professions and on certain traits of character. They had nothing to do with birth. More details about this will be given later on. Vide in the next chapter the paragraph on Gūrjars.

rock-inscription to his credit; but 45 is the prominent number in the inscriptions of Nahapāṇ. It is said that in that year the reign of Bhūmak ended and Nahapāṇ became Mahākṣatrap. In inscriptions bearing the numbers 40 & 41, we find that in the battles fought during those years, Ṛṣabhadatta played a prominent part. This shows that Ṛṣabhadatta must have remained at the head of the forces, for not less than five to seven years. So, at the time of the death of Bhūmak, he must have been at least 40 to 45 years old. Then, Nahapāṇ ruled as Mahākṣatrap for nearly six to eight months and as king of Avantī for the next forty years, i. e. by the time of the death of Nahapāṇ, Ṛṣabhadatta had reached the age of 85 to 86 years. It was at this age that he founded the "Śāhī" dynasty.

How long did he rule after this ? We have no evidence based on inscriptions to come to a definite conclusion about this. The three inscriptions at Nāsik[41] (Nos. 31, 36 & 37), which are undated and which do not bear the name of Nahapāṇ as others do, must probably have been erected by him after his becoming independent as the founder of the Śāhī dynasty. No. 37 contains the name of his son, Devaṇak also, which means that at that time he himself was on the throne[42] and Devaṇak was the heir-apparent. But as these inscriptions are undated, evidence based upon them cannot be called conclusive. In No. 32, we find the word "Ujjain". Now as Ṛṣabhadatta never became the ruler of Avantī, it is easy to conclude that No. 32 must have been erected during the life-time of Nahapāṇ. But, that way, the coins of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the Āndhra king, also bear the Ujjain symbol, even though he never became the master of Avantī. This means that the Āndhra king imitated Ṛṣabhadatta in printing Ujjain symbol on his coins, with a view to ridicule him[43]. This also shows the

(41) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 58-59.

(42) We may note that Ṛṣabhadatta prefixed no title to his life; Nahapāṇ called himself Mahākṣatrap, and later on, King.

(43) One of the rock-inscriptions was erected by Queen Balaśrī, the grand-mother of Gautamīputra, in commemoration of her son's unique victory over the Kṣaharāṭas and the Śakas. We know that the Āndhra kings had a

historic importance of Avantī. Ṛṣabhadatta enjoyed long life like Nahapāṇ and Bhūmak. All three were centurious. He founded his dynasty in 74 B. C., which ended in B. C. 52 (see infra) i. e. his dynasty lasted for 22 years. He himself ruled for 15 to 16 years[44] i. e. from B. C. 74 to 58. Then his son came to the throne.

The extent of his territory

The best and the most reliable means of finding out the territorial extent of any king in ancient India, is no doubt the rock-inscriptions and the coins. Of these two, no coins are yet found out bearing the name of Ṛṣabhadatta.[45] There are however, several inscriptions bearing the names of both Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta. (For instances, the rock-inscriptions at Prabhāspaṭan, Puṣkar, Junner, Kārle, Nāsik, Sopārā and at other places). The numbers found on them are 40, 45 and 46, and we have proved that all these numbers are related to Nahapāṇ and Bhūmak. So, we conclude, that Ṛṣabhadatt's contribution to the expansion of of the kingdoms of Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ, must have been considerable. Mr. Rapson says[46]:—" Apart from the two places (Prabhas and Pushkar) which were both within Nahapana's dominions but not under the direct control of Rishabhadatta, the inscriptions of Nasik and Karle seem to show that he ruled as Nahapana's viceroy over south Gujarat and northern Konkan from Broach to Sopara and over the Poona and Nasik districts of the Mahratta country. " During the rule of Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ, Ṛṣabhadatta conquered many territories and added them to the Kṣaharāṭa kingdom. Of course, these conquests cannot be ranked as exclusively Ṛṣabhadatta's, because he was not an independent king at that time. When Nahapāṇ came to the throne and conquered Avantī, Ṛṣabhadatta continued to be his favourite general. After Nahapāṇ's death, almost all the territory of his kingdom

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deep-seated grudge against Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta. So, Gautamīputra may well have mimicked Ṛṣabhadatta in order to ridicule him.

(44) This is liable to change. F. n. no. 71 below.

(45) The author of C. A. R. tells that the name of Iśvardatta is found on some coins. Vide pp. 286, f. n. no. 15.

(46) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 57.

came under the power of the person, who usurped the throne, save the territory over which Ṛṣabhadatta established his independent power.[47] By the time he established his own dynasty, he was so much advanced in age[48] that he could not actively engage himself in any warfare, for the sake of territorial expansion. There is a historical event which supports this contention.[49] Dr. Fleet aptly observes,[50] (though in another connection):—" There are no real grounds for thinking that the Śakas ever figured as invaders of any part of north India above Kathiawar and the southern and the western parts of the territory known as Malwa." This clearly proves that, when the scholars say that the Pārthians, the Chaṣṭhaṇas and the Kṣaharāṭas were Śakas, they do nothing except beating the air[51].

As occasions arose, we have shown in what way the Śakas differed from other foreigners. Some more details about them are given below.

The terms "Śaka" "Śāhi" and "Śahensahi"

(1) In their inscriptions and other relics, though the Kṣaharāṭa chiefs Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ, have indicated the year, season and month of a particular event, they have not stated, as Iśvardatta and Ṛṣabhadatta have, that a particular event took place in the particular year of their reign. This proves that Ṛṣabhadatta belonged to a different race. He has called himself " Śaka ".[52].

(2) On the occasion of the consecrating ceremony of the Lion Capital Pillar at Mathura, the Queen-consort of Rājuvul had invited all the Kṣatraps and had prefixed the term " Kṣaharāṭ "

(47) Vide I. A. Vol. 37, pp. 49; J. R. A. S. 1905, pp. 230.

(48) At the time of his accession to the throne, he was 85 years old. Vide pp. 290.

(49) Vide the account of the Gardabhīla dynasty for further details.

(50) J. R. A. S. 1905, pp. 230.

(51) We have often shown in part VI, in what ways their theory has done injustice to Indian history. For details vide pp. 244, f. n. no. 1.

(52) C. A. I. pp. 105:—"Ushavadatta the son-in-law of Nahapana, calls himself a Saka". C. A. R. Intro. pp. 58, Inscr. no. 32.

to the names of these Kṣatraps. Both Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ were invited; but Ṛṣabhadatta was not invited, though he had, by that time, distinguished himself as a powerful general. This proves that Ṛṣabhadatta was not a Kṣaharāṭ.

(3) Darpaṇ, the founder of the Gardabhila dynasty over Avantī, once imprisoned in his harem, Sarasvatī, who was a nun and who was the sister of Kāliksūri the famous Jaina monk. This was an outrage against all the whole Jaina brotherhood. In order to retaliate upon him, Kālikṣūri induced the Śakas to invade Avantī. The Śakas landed in Saurāṣṭra and stayed there for some time, because the rainy season had already set in, making their way very difficult to march further. Then they marched upon Avantī, conquered it, and began their rule there. Now, we know that after the death of Nahapāṇ, the most rightful heir to the throne was Ṛṣabhadatta, and that while he was on his way to Avantī, the Gardabhīla king usurped the throne[53]. This means that Ṛṣabhadatta had a grudge against him from the first[54]. Moreover, he was a Jain, and must have certainly done his best to vindicate the honour of Jainism. The reason, due to which Kālikṣūri[55] secured the help of the Śakas from Seistān[56], even though Ṛṣabhadatta was there in Saurāṣṭra, must have been that Ṛṣabhadatta was perhaps thought to be too old to help him. So, when the Śaka hordes landed in Saurāṣṭra, he gave them every facility and perhaps helped them actively by placing his army at their disposal. To the foreigners who were brought to India by Kālikṣūri, we give the simple name Scythians.[57] There were many petty chiefs among them and they were called Śāhīs, and hence

(53) Vide in the beginning of this chapter, the paragraph, "Their entry into India and their first place of residence".

(54) F. n. no. 73 below.

(55) Vide pp. 283 above.

(56) This shows that old age must have made him decrepit. Or probably he was dead and his son, a young man, must have ascended the throne; but he must not have felt confident enough to rise against Avantī. The first theory seems to be more probable of the two.

(57) Full details will be given in the account of the Gardabhīla dynasty.

their leader was called Śahenśāhe Śāhī. Ṛṣabhadatta must have called his dynasty "Śāhī" on account of this reason. In B. C. 64 the Śakas defeated the Gardabhīla king and became the rulers of Avantī. The Indo-Scythians continued to rule in Saurāṣṭra.

(4) The fact, that some rulers called themselves Kṣatraps or Mahākṣatraps, shows that they were under the influence of the Persian or of the Bactrian culture. For instance, though Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ, Rājuvul, Chaṣṭhaṇ and others did not belong to the same race, yet they prefixed either Kṣatrap or Mahākṣatrap to their names. Again, we know that the term Kṣatrap signified that the holder of the title was under the power of an overlord. We may note that neither Ṛṣabhadatta nor any of his successors called himself either Kṣatrap or Mahākṣatrap. This shows that they belonged to an altogether different race.

(5) The list facing pp. 79 will show that most of the Indian sovereigns assumed titles like "Emperor", "Bādśāh", "Chakravarti" and others[58]. The yavana sovereigns called themselves "Great Kings"; the yonas were satisfied with the simple title "King"; while the Persians were satisfied with nothing less than "King of Kings". The "Śāhī" kings, on the other hand, though they were perfectly independent, would have none of these high-sounding titles. This may be due to their philosophic attitude towards life or due to their having passed through many ups and downs in life.

The Śakas, as we have already noted, were Jains; and hence they always believed in doing something for the good of humanity.

His religion and the things which he did for public welfare

While Nahapāṇ was alive, Ṛṣabhadatta was for many years, the governor of a vast territory and he was practically free to do what he thought fit there. So, all the good things done there during the period of his governorship go to his credit. We shall quote below some extracts from other writers referring to things done exclusively by him.

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(58) We shall see later on that the Kuśāna kings called themselves "Mahārājādhirāj".

(59) C. Sh. H. I, pp. 66:—"The degree of suzerainty admitted (by the

(I)[60]:—His benefactions in Nāsik caves[61] are:—(1) Gift of 300 cows (2) Gifts of money and construction of steps on the river Vanarasi. (3) Gift of 16 villages to Gods and brahmins.[62] (4) Feeding a thousand brahmins[63] the whole year round. (5) Gifts of eight wives * to Brahmins at Prabhas. (6) Gifts of quadrangular rest-houses at Sopara, Broach and Dashapur. × (7) Wells, tanks and gardens (8) Establishments of free ferries by boats on the rivers Iba, Parada, Tapti, Karbena and Dahnuka. (9) Meeting-halls and halls for drinking water on these rivers. (10) Gifts of 32000 cocoa-nut trees to the Carakas[64] at Govardhan, Suvarnamukh, Soparaga, Vamatirtha and Pinditkavada. We may

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Scythians to the Persian empire) and the area it covered varied with the power of the reigning Persian monarch".

(60) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1927, Vol. III, part II.

(61) It is certain that Ṛṣabhadatta was a Jain. Naturally, his charitable activities must have been in conformity with the tenets of his faith. Readers might think that there are deviations here and there, in the description given above. That only shows that, either Ṛṣabhadatta did not make any distinctions of creed when he gave things in charity, or that some of the customs which existed among Jains at that time, do not exist at present. (Such differences are seen in the charitable deeds of Priyadarśin also).

(62) The terms "Gods" and "Brahmins" can be interpreted as follows:— (1) "Gods" means temples and other places. Money given for the erection of temples and for the maintenance of rites and rituals of worship may be classed under this head. The Jains follow the same custom at present. (2) The original word for "Brāhmaṇ" must be "Bāṁbhaṇ or Māhaṇ" as explained on pp. 196 and seq. The scribe, however, must have read it as "Brāhmaṇ". "Bāṁbhaṇ" means one who observes celebacy and Māhaṇ means one who does not kill. Cf. Vol. II, pp. 209; f. n. no. 69, details about the problem of Bindusār giving food to Brāhmaṇs.

(63) F. n. no. 62 for the meaning of this term.

* This word strengthens our view that the original term was "Bāṁbhaṇ".

× Cf. f. n. no. 48, pp. 141 and its description.

(64) The definite meaning of this word is not known. (A tribe named "Sarāk" is found at present in Orissa. They are foresters by occupations. Some scholars believe that they were Jains. May it be that these "Saraks" were the same as "Caraks" who subsisted on the income of cocoa-nuts in Ṛṣabhadatta's time.)

complete this list by adding his further benefactions mentioned in other parts of these inscriptions.—(a) An Abhishek[65] at Pushkar and a gift of 3000 cows. (b) Cave No. 10 at Nasik and the cisterns (c) Gift of a field for the maintenance of ascetics in the cave". Once while on his way to Puṣkar, Ṛṣabhadatta defeated and imprisoned the Mālavas who harassed the Uttambhadras. The Uttamabhadras gave a field in charity and the ceremony was performed by Ṛṣabhadatta.

(II) Mr. Rapson[66] on the authority of Nos. 31 and 36 inscriptions, states:—"Provision is made for the monks with Kusana-mula".[67] As to the meaning of the term "Kusana-mula" he states:—"The meaning of this term is doubtful. Mr. Stenart translates "Money for outside life." But it would seem probable that reference is here made to the custom of "Kathina" i. e. the privilege of wearing extra robes which was granted to the monks during the rainy season".

(III) He encouraged trade and commerce. He lent money to the merchants to maintain their credit.[68] According to Mr. Rapson[69] the rate of interest for weavers was one percent per month.

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(65) Dr. Fleet gives the meaning of this word as follows:—"And there I bathed."

(66) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 59.

(67) The meanings of the terms "Kusaṇamūla" and "Kathina" as given in modern dictionaries agree with the interpretations of these scholars. That means that the charity was given to Buddhist monks, which proved that Ṛṣabhadatta's religious policy was that of toleration. (Cf. f. n. no. 61 above). It remains to be found out, however, whether the word is found in old Buddhist books or not.

If it is found out that this charity of Ṛṣabhadatta was meant for his co-religionists, the term "Kusaṇamūla" may be explained in two ways:—(1 There were some religious customs in those times which are non-existent to-day. (Cf. f. n. no. 61 above); (2) Or the word may have been wrongly deciphered. (F. n. no. 62, details about Baṁbhaṇ).

(68) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1927, Vol. III, Part II.

(69) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 58. (Cf. vol. I. Conditions prevailing during the time of Śreṇik).

We have stated above that Ṛṣabhdatta ruled for 10 years. Later researches show that he must have died earlier[70]. Some details about this will be given in the account of Devaṇak.

(2) DEVAṆAK

In the previous chapter we have stated that Mr. Thomas wrote an article of the "Śāh" kings. Later on, it was found out that these "Śāh" kings were a branch of the Chasṭhaṇa dynasty. He, however, confused this "Śāh" dynasty with the "Śāhī" dynasty of Ṛṣabhadarta. Hence arose the confusion among scholars that the "Śāhī" dynasty of Ṛṣabhadatta consisted of nearly 14 kings; while as a matter of fact, it was the "Śāh" dynasty which had so many kings. The "Śāhī" dynasty began with Ṛṣabhadatta and ended with his son Devaṇak. Scholars however, argued this way. The rock-inscription by queen Balaśrī, the grand-mother of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, states that Gautamīputra exterminated the Kṣaharāṭs, the Śakas and the Yavanas. These scholars have fixed up his time as 78 A. D., and they think that he was the founder of the Śaka era. Now, Devaṇak lived about B. C. 50; this means that there was an interval of nearly a century and a quarter between him and the Śātakarṇi king. Naturally, they argue that some ten kings[71] of the "Śāhī" dynasty must have ruled in succession, over Saurāṣṭra, during 50 B. C. to 78 A. D. The weight of facts, however, goes against this contention and favours the theory that the extermination of the Śakas and other foreigners took place nearly a decade after the death of Ṛṣabhadatta. These facts are given below.

His reign and the end of the Śāhī dynasty

Gautamīputra, after uprooting the Kṣaharāṭs and the Śakas, got his coins minted (Vol. II, Nos. 75–76). Many coins bear the portrait-head of Gautamiputra, imprinted upon the portrait-head of Nahapāṇ, which is dimly visible on them. This he did to give vent to his hatred for Nahapāṇ. Now, if Gautamīputra

(70) Vide f. n. no. 74 below.

(71) I came to the same conclusion at first. (Vide pp. 164, line 10 marked *). Later on, however, I had to change my opinion (infra f. n. no. 81).

lived 125 years after Nahapāṇ, it would have been quite impossible for him to find the coins of Nahapāṇ in so large numbers as he did, because during the intervening 125 years, several dynasties ruled over Avantī. Again, all these coins are bearing a sign which is unmistakably Jaina. Several other details against this theory will be given in the account of the Gardabhīla dynasty. All these things force us to change the time of Gautamīputra and to fix it some ten years after the death of Ṛṣabhadatta. Details given below will convince the reader of the truth of this statement.

While Nahapāṇ was on the throne of Avantī, the Śatavahana kings in the Deccan were rather weak. So, Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta had forced them to recede much further, and to change the seat of their capital from Paiṭhaṇ to Varaṅgul in Bennākaṭak. After the death of Nahapāṇ, however, they grew powerful. As Nahapāṇ died without leaving a male issue behind him, any of the following three kings could have seized the opportunity of securing the throne of Avantī. They were:—(1) The Indo-Pārthian king Aziz I, in the north. He had recently come to the throne. (2) The Āndhra kings in the south. (3) Ṛṣabhadatta. Of these, Aziz, who had recently come to the throne, thought it wise to confine himself to the task of consolidating his power in his own kingdom. The Āndhra king, recently defeated by Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta[72] did not dare to cast his eyes over Avantī. In the case of Ṛṣabhadatta, as we have already stated, while he was on his way to Avantī, Gardabhīl usurped the throne of Avantī. It is probable that Ṛṣabhadatta did not wage a war against Gardabhīl, because he was too old to actively engage himself in any warfare. Of course he bore a deep-seated grudge against Gardabhīl[73]. Ten years later, Gardabhīl was defeated by the Śakas, who came fresh from Śeistān at the instance of the Jaina monk, Kāliksūri. By that time, Ṛṣabhadatta was either confined to bed or was dead[74]. His son, Devaṇak also does not seem to have taken advantage

(72) Vide ante, pp. 150.

(73) Cf. the text for f. n. no. 54 above.

(74) Cf. f. n. no. 70 above.

of this opportunity[75]. Neither did Aziz, who by this time had been on the throne for ten years, seem to have tried to have a snatch at Avantī, which shows that he must not have been a very valorous or very ambitious king. Even the Āndhra kings did not think it wise to declare war against Gardabhīl, because the Jaina monk Kāliksūri, who commanded full respect among the people there[76], preferred to invite the Śakas[77], who, as we have already stated, landed in Saurāṣṭra, where they spent the monsoon and from where, re-inforced with the army of the "Śāhī" king Devaṇak, marched upon Avantī, defeated Gardabhīl, and became masters of Avantī. Devaṇak's power in Saurāṣṭra was consolidated; but now he had two enemies instead of one. One was the Āndhra king and the other was the Gardabhīla king.

The Śakas during their seven years of rule[78] over Avantī, ruthlessly persecuted the people, who then ardently desired to be free from their clutches. Kāliksūri, however, had ceased to take any interest in worldly affairs. This time also Aziz did not make any attempt to conquer Avantī and establish his power there[79]. At last, Vikramāditya, a son of the late Gardabhīla king of Avantī and the Āndhra king, Gautamīputra who was on the throne since B. C. 64, combined their forces. Several battles were fought[80]. At last they exterminated these Śakas. Devaṇak being a Śaka, was

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(75) He did help the Śakas, who came from Śeistān to invade Avantī; but he did not take any active part independently.

(76) Kāliksūri might have at first approached the Āndhra king. He must have found, however, that the latter was not very enthusiastic about it. So, he must have decided to invite the Śakas.

(77) Vide pp. 293, argument no. 3.

(78) Details will be given in the account of the Gardabhīla dynasty.

(79) Aziz I ruled from B. C. 75 to 58. He did not take any advantage of any of the three opportunities, in B. C. 74, B. C. 64 or B. C. 57. Avantī was in the throes of a political upheaval during the last five or six years of his reign, but he does not seem to have been inclined to meddle with its affairs.

(80) Probably three battles were fought. Two of them will be described in the account of Śakāri Vikramāditya, and the third in the account of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

also defeated and killed in B. C. 52[81], in a battle that was fought in Saurāṣṭra[82]. Now the reader will clearly understand why so many coins of Nahapāṇ bear the portrait-head of Gautamīputra, upon that of Nahapāṇ[83].

Thus ended the "Śāhī" dynasty. Those of the Indo-Scythians who survived the battle, remained in Saurāṣṭra and took to cattle-rearing and horse-breeding. Later on these people became famous as Ābhirs. The Śakas who had remained in the region around the Godāvarī, after the death of Iśvardatta, settled there for good, as we know. They also became known as Ābhirs there.

We shall close this chapter with some hypotheses for future research work and with a dynastic list:—

(1) Iśvardatta was the father of Ṛṣabhadatta. He may have enjoyed a position of power, or he may have not. The Sanskritized name of Nahapāṇ was Nabhovāhan, of Uṣabhadatta was Ṛṣabhadatta, and of Dinik was Iśvardatta. The term "Datta" may have been a shortened form of Iśvardatta; while "Dinna", and later on "Dinik" may have been its deteriorated forms.

(2) Ṛṣabhadatta	M. E.	B. C.	Years of his age
Birth	370	157	0
Rise to power	400	127	30
Marriage with Dakṣamitrā[84]	401	126	31

(81) At first (cf. f. n. no. 71 above) I thought that this extermination took place in A. D. 78. Now, further research has caused me to change it to B. C. 52.

(82) Details about this battle will be given in the account of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

(83) This was done, then, 22 years after the death of Nahapāṇ and seven years after the death of Ṛṣabhadatta. (Cf. C. A. R. pp. 105; J. B. B. R. A. S. pp. 64; I. A. vol. 37, pp. 43; O. H. I. pp. 217 etc. The extracts from these are quoted on pp. 151, f. n. no. 28.) This shows that at the time of this battle, neither Nahapāṇ nor Ṛṣabhadatta was alive.

(84) It seems that it was a custom among these people to marry rather late; or probably Dakṣamitrā was the second wife of Ṛṣabhadatta, the first being dead.

	M. E.	B. C.	Years of his age
Birth of Devaṇak[85]	415	112	44
Governorship under Bhūmak	400–413	127–114	30–43
Governorship under Nahapāṇ	413–453	114—74	43–83
Independent ruler	453	74	83
Death	469	58	99

(3) **Devaṇak**

Accession to the throne	469	58	54
Death	475	52	60

The Śāhī dynasty lasted from B. C. 74–52=22 years.

[N. B. Here finishes the description of the first four out of the five races of (vide pp. 98–99) foreign invaders on India. They have been described in this vol. one after the other because their time of invasion was a continuous one; whereas that of the last, e. g. the kuśānas comes a little later and hence we have been obliged to carry their account to the next Vol.]

(85) The former issues must have died; or he may have been the fitst issue.



Chapter XI

Synopsis:—

Appendix A:—*Details about Śakas, Ābhirs and Traikūṭaks—The relation between the Ābhirs and the Indo-Scythians proved on the evidence of rock-inscriptions—The relation between Iśvardatta and Dharsen Traikūṭak based on the evidence of rock-inscriptions—The terms " Tri-raśmi " and " Tri-kūṭak " and difference in their meanings—Discussion about the relation between Chaṣṭhaṇ and Iśvardatta; arguments to prove that the Chaṣṭhaṇa era did not begin in B. C. 78, but at some other time—Proof that Iśvarsen Ābhir was the son of Iśvardatta Trikūṭak—The name and the time of the founder of the Trikūṭaka era.*

Appendix B:—*Relation between the terms " Ośvāl, Śrimāl, Porwāḍ and Gūrjar."—The origin of the Gūrjars—The origins of these three people—The political relations and activities of these people—Their adoption of the Kṣatriya traits in times of emergency, though they were Vaiśyas—The creation of the four Agni-kulas (families) of Rājputs and division of land by them.*

Appendix A

ŚAKAS, ĀBHIRS, AND TRAIKŪṬAKS

This appendix is to be devoted to the account of the relation between the Śakas, the Ābhirs and the Traikūṭaks. Scholars at present are unanimous about the fact that these three peoples are related to one another. Some believe that the Ābhirs descended from the Śakas, and that Traikuṭaks descended from the Ābhirs. Some are not sure about this. We shall try to clarify all the doubts below:—

(1) In Inscription No. 43, Nāsik[1], Iśvarsen, 9th year, 4th part of summer, 13th day, it is stated:—" It records the investment of two sums of money[2]—1000 Karsapanas and 500 Karsapanas in trade guilds at Govardhana for the purpose of providing medicines for the sick, among the monks dwelling in the monastery on Mount Trirasmi. The king Ishvarsena[3] who is called an Abhir and son of the Abhir Sivadatta[4] seems to bear the metronymic 'Madhariputra'[5]. The benefactress is the lay devotee Visnudatta, the Sakani[6] mother of the Ganapaka

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(1) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 62.

(2) Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta also gave large sums of money as charity to the monks and beggars. Their charity deeds bear eloquent testimony to this. They also used to set apart sums of money for this purpose. Commercial concerns were considered to be the safest places for depositing these sums of money. They had also given preference to the region of Govardhan round about present Nāśik.

(3) Iśvarsen assumed the title "King"; his father had no such title. This shows that Iśvarsen must have established an independent kingdom. (Read f. n. no. 15).

(4) It should be noted that these people called themselves Ābhirs.

(5) One of the dynasties that succeeded the Āndhra dynasty, as the Purāṇas say, was the Ābhir. (Vide C. A. R. pp. 134). It is well-known that the Āndhras always assumed the family name on their mother's side (viz. Gautamīputra, Vāśiṣṭhīputra, Mādhariputra etc.). The Ābhirs either adopted this custom or they were in some way connected with the Āndhras. Cf. f. n. nos. 8 and 12 below.

(6) Ṛṣabhadatta was a Śaka. Viṣṇudattā's father-in-law and father both

Visvavarman, wife of Ganapaka Rebhila, the daughter of Agnivarman, the Saka. The inscription is in Sanskrit; with traces of Prakrit "[7]. The inscription briefly means:—(1) King Iśvarsen Ābhir, the son of Śivadatta Ābhir and known as Mādhariputra, set aside a sum of money for charity in the 9th year[8] of his reign. (2) The sum was deposited with some merchants,[9] on interest. (3) The sum was to be used in providing medicines[10] for the sick among the monks dwelling in the monastery at Mount Triraśmi[11]. (4) The benefactress is a Śaka woman. (5) The inscription is mainly in Sanskrit. From this we can come to the following conclusions:- (1) King Iśvarsen was an Ābhir. (2) The benefactress was a Śaka. This shows that the Ābhirs must be related[12] to the Śakas. (3) The method of charity and the language of the inscription are similar to those of Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta[13]. (4) Mount Triraśmi was

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are stated to have been Śakas. In short, Ṛṣabhadatta, Viṣṇudattā and Agnivarman, all were Śakas.

Read in conjunction, nos. 5 and 6 will lead us to the conclusion that there must have been some relation between the Āndhras, the Ābhirs and the Śakas. Read f. n. nos. 8 to 13 below, which support this conclusion.

(7) The script of the inscription resembles that of Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta. Read f. n. no. 13 below.

(8) The benefactress is a Śaka lady. In the inscription is mentioned the name of the Ābhira king, and the year of his reign in which the charity was given. That shows that the Śakas and the Ābhirs were related to one another. (F. n. nos. 5 and 6 above, and f. n. nos. 12 and 13 below).

(9) Cf. f. n. no. 2; f. n. no. 13 below; cf. ante. pp. 296.

(10) Cf. f. n. no. 2 above.

(11) The term "Tri–raśmi" means, "A mountain with three peaks". It is situated near the source of the Godāvarī, in the region called Govardhan near Nāsik. The inscription is at Nāsik which was under the rule of Isvarsen. The charity deeds of Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta also are found here. Cf. f. n. no. 2 above and f. n. no. 14 below.

(12) Cf. f. n. nos. 6 and 8 above, and f. n. no. 13 below.

(13) Ṛṣabhadatta has given details about the year, season, month and day, in his inscriptions. So has Iśvarsen. Ṛṣabhadatta's inscriptions bear the dates of Kṣaharāṭa era which was recently founded at that time; while Iśvarsen has mentioned the year of his reign, as his era was not yet founded. (F. n. no. 24). This shows that there was definitely a connection between the Śakas and the Ābhiras. (Cf. f. n. nos. 5, 6, 8 and 12).

situated in Govardhan[14] near Nāsik. It was under the rule of Iśvarsen[15]. (5) The mother of Iśvarsen belonged to the Mādhari Gotra[16]. This shows that the Ābhirs must have had some relation with the Āndhras[17].

(2) Details about the Traikuṭaka dynasty are given in inscription No. 44 at Pārdi[18]. It is stated therein:—" Dharsena, year 207 of the Traikutaka era, 13th day of the bright half of Vaisakha"[19]. It is also stated therein that Dharsen had performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice[20]. Inscription No. 45 at Kaṇheri[21] also gives details about this dynasty. The following words are found therein:–"Year 245[22] of the increasing rule[23] of the Traikutakas". Briefly stated, these extracts mean:—(1) Dharsen and his

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(14) Cf. f. n. no. 2, last lines, and f. n. no. 10.

(15) Read f. n. no. 3 above.

(16) Cf. f. n. no. 5 above.

(17) Cf. f. n. no. 5 above.

(18) This town is at present in the Sūrat district and bears the same name, viz. Pārḍi. Both Pārḍī and Kaṇherī were situated in a region which was included in the kingdom of Iśvarsen Ābhir as well as of Ṛṣabhadatta. The Tri–raśmi ranges were in the same region.

(19) Details about the year, the month, the parts of the month and the day are given in this inscription; but the season is not mentioned. Such was the method of Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta. Read f. n. no. 13 above. If we compare the method of the Chaṣṭhaṇa kings with this method, we shall find that the method of Dharsen Traikūṭak is mid-way between the two; probably it resembles more the Chaṣṭhaṇa method.

(20) It seems that the mention of the sacrifice in the inscription was made with a view to showing that he was victorious in the battle, and that he was a follower of the Vedic faith. His coins also prove the same thing. Now the question is, whether his forefathers also were the followers of the Vedic religion or whether it was he, who was converted to this faith. It is probable that he himself was a convert to this faith and that his forefathers followed a different faith.

(21) It is situated in the Nāsik district.

(22) That they have used this era in connection with their rule shows that they were related to its founder. (F. n. no. 64 below).

(23) This shows that though their rule was established not long ago, yet they were rapidly expanding their territorial extent, Read f. n. no. 22 above and no. 64 below,

descendants were kings of the Traikūṭaka dynasty[24]. (2) The time of their rule is about years 207 to 245 of the Traikūṭaka era. (3) They were followers of the Vedic religion[25]. (4) The method of their inscription resembles, to some extent, that of Iśvarsen, the Ābhira king, and that of Ṛṣabhadatta Śaka[26]; but it resembles[27] very much the method of the Chaṣṭhaṇa kṣatraps[28].

After a perusal of the extracts quoted above and of the footnotes connected with them, the reader will agree that we may draw the following conclusions:—(1) There is much resemblance between Nahapāṇ and Ṛṣabhadatta on the one hand and Iśvarsen Ābhir and Viṣṇudattā Śakāni on the other. (2) There is also

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(24) Trikūṭaka=Tri+kūṭa+ka=a mountain with three peaks. (For the meaning of "Trirasmi" read f. n. no. 11 above. The dynasty whose rule was established over the region surrounding "Trikūṭak" was called "Traikūṭak". (Read f. n. no. 60 below). The dynasty must have begun in the 207th year, (or five or ten years ago) of the Traikūṭaka era mentioned in the inscriptions at Pārḍī and at Kaṇheri. The same mountain was known by the name "Triraśmi" during the rule of Iśvarsen Ābhir over it. This shows that the mountain must have got its new name—Trikūṭak—after his time; similarly the era named after it must have been found after his time. Again, the fact that the father of Iśvarsen bore no royal title shows that Iśvarsen was the first king of the Ābhira dynasty. That he himself had not founded the era is evident from the fact that in the inscription it is written, "In the ninth year of his kingdom" (i. e. no era has been mentioned. The Kṣaharāṭa era and the Chaṣṭhaṇa era were founded in the same way. The Kṣaharāṭa dynasty was founded by Bhūmak, but the Kṣaharāṭa era was founded by Nahapāṇ who began it with the year in which his father established the dynasty. Similarly Chaṣṭhaṇ founded an era (which we shall call Kṣatrapa era) beginning with the year in which his father Ghṣamotik began his rule. In the same way the Ābhira era (better known as Kalchūri or Chedi era in history) was founded by Iśvardatta, the son of Iśvarsen, though it was begun with the first year of Iśvarsen's rule. (Read f. n. no. 62 below).

(25) Read f. n. no. 20 above.

(26) Cf. f. n. no. 19 above.

(27) The only difference is in the symbols of the coins of both.

(28) They have mentioned the year, the month, the part of the month and the day. (Read the inscriptions of Rudradāman and others), Cf. f. n. nos. 19 and 27 above.

resemblance between Iśvarsen Ābhir, the lord of the region around Mount Triraśmi and Dharsen, the Traikuṭaka king. (3) Iśvarsen lived after the time of Ṛṣabhadatta and before the time of Dharsen. Now, the difficult problem is to find out what were the actual threads of relationships that existed between them. Let us try and we might hope for something tangible[29].

I have come to hold the opinion that details about Mahākṣatrap Iśvardatta, would go a long way to throwing light upon this problem. The Chasṭhaṇa kṣatraps ruled consecutively over Avantī for a long time[30]. From the coins of Mahākṣatrap Dāmsen we find that his rule lasted from 145 to 158[31]. The next three years seem to be blank, and no coins are found bearing these dates. The coins of Mahākṣatrap are dated 161. The coins of Dāmjadśri II, Virdāman, Yaśodāman and Vijaysen bear dates between 154 and 160; but all these coins bear the term "Kṣatrap". Not one of them has the term "Mahākṣatrap" on it. This means that for years 154 to 158 we find two kinds of coins–some bearing "Mahākṣatrap" and some bearing "Kṣatrap". For 158 to 160 we find coins all of which bear "Kṣatrap" only. From 161 onwards we find coins bearing "Mahākṣatrap". So, the thing to be found out is "Why are there no coins bearing "Mahākṣtrap" for the three years from 158 to 160 ?"[32]. While scholars were busy with this problem, the

(29) Where there is a will, there's a way.

(30) The time of most of the Kṣatrapas is outside the time-limit fixed for this book. Hence, only those details about them are given here, which helps us to understand the problem with which we are concerned here. Their dynastic list is given at the end of the last volume.

(31) Scholars believe that these numbers belong to the Śaka era, because they hold the opinion that Chaṣṭhaṇ was a Śaka. The Śaka era, as it is well known, was begun in A. D. 78. Hence they calculated that the reign of Dāmsen ended in A. D. 236 (158+78=236). We have shown that Chaṣṭhaṇ was not a Śaka. Vide pp. 164 & seq: and in the account of the Scythians. Also Cf. pp. 281, last lines; where an extract is quoted from O. H. I. pp. 9. This confusion of one era with the other has giveu rise to many mistakes, some of which are shown above, further in the same paragraph. (Read f. n. no. 44 below).

(32) They have calculated A. D. 236 to A. D. 238, by adding 78 to 158.

coins of a certain[33] "Mahākṣatrap Iśvardatta" were found out[34]. These coins are remarkably similar to the coins of the Chaṣṭhaṇas. Mr. Rapson[35] stated in this connection:—"The Mahakshatrapa Ishvardatta struck silver coins of precisely the same style and types as those of the Western Kshatrapas; but it is certain that he did not belong to the same dynasty"[36]. He further states[37]:—"This is shown (1) by his name... and (2) by his introduction of a foreign method[38] of dating his coins in regnal years instead of in years of the Saka era. In both of these respects he follows apparently the example[39] set by a dynasty of Abhira kings who succeeded the Andhras in the Nasik district as is shown by the Nasik inscription dated in the 9th year of the Abhira king Ishvarsena, son of the Abhir Shivadatta. This dynasty is no doubt referred to by the Puranas."[40] In short, he means to say that Mahākṣatrap Iśvardatta adopted the method and customs of Iśvarsen Ābhir,

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(33) He was in no way related to the Kṣatrapa dynasty. (Cf. f. n. no. 36 below). He also, however, held the title "Mahākṣatrap" and his coins almost resemble the coins of Chaṣṭhaṇa kings. It may be surmised from this that this interpolator must have been some officer or general of the Chaṣṭhaṇas and that, taking advantage of the weakness of his masters, he must have ascended the throne. Read f. n. nos. 65 and 66 below.

(34) The coins resemble one another. On the obverse side are the portrait-head and the letters; and on the reverse side are the signs of the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty. In the Kṣatrapa coins, however, an era is mentioned, while the coins of Iśvardatta state the particular year of his reign. (See their coins in vol. II and details about them).

No inscription of Iśvardatta has yet been found out. Several inscriptions of the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty are found out.

(35) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 133, para. 109.

(36) The fact that he did not belong to that family shows that he belonged to quite a different race. (Cf. f. n. nos. 33 above 58 and 59 below.)

(37) Read f. n. no. 35.

(38) Clearly the method was not the one which the Chaṣṭhaṇas used.

(39) Read f. n. no. 13 for the method used by Ābhira kings; and f. n. no. 19 for the method of the Chaṣṭhaṇas. Compare them.

(40) This means that the details given here are not a product of mere imagination, but that they are based on evidence.

and that the Ābhir kings ruled over the district of Nāsik, after the rule of the Āndhra dynasty was over there. These things, he says, are mentioned in the Purāṇas also. Mr. Rapson, however, has not given expression to his view on the possible relation between Iśvardatta and Iśvarsen. He refers to the two suggestions of Dr. Bhagvānlāl Indrajit[41]:—" Bhagwanlal's identification of Iśvardatta as an Abhira connected with the dynasty represented at Nasik by Ishvarsena is therefore extremely probable........ Bhagvanlal's further suggestion[42] that this conquest was commemorated[43] by the foundation by Ishvardatta of the Traikutaka era in A. D. 249 cannot however be supported." His opinion (based on the study of the coins of Iśvardatta and of Virdāman, Yaśodāman, Vijaysen and others) about the time of Iśvardatta is[44]:—" There can be little doubt, then, that Ishwardatta reigned sometime between A. D. 236 and 239[45], that is to say, at least ten years before the foundation of the Traikutaka era in A. D. 249." This makes it clear that Mr. Rapson has, in spite of his refusal to accept the second suggestion of Dr. Bhagvānlāl, in the extract quoted above, has almost acquiesced in it. Now if, some connection is established between 249 A. D., the year in which the Traikūṭaka era was founded, and the years A. D. 236 to 239 during which Iśvardatta reigned, the problem[46] can be said to be effectively solved.

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(41) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 134, lines 16 to 18.

(42) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 165, para. 110, lines 1 to 4.

(43) Details about this conquest are given by Dr. Bhagwānlāl, on pp. 657 of J. R. A. S. 1890. We may note Iśvardatta considered this to be an uncommon achievement and thenceforth assumed the title "Mahākṣatrap."

(44) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 136, lines 6 to 9.

(45) Read f. n. no. 32 above.

(46) Cf. f. n. no. 31 above; this difficulty would be immediately solved if it is made clear that the Chaṣṭhaṇa era and the Śaka era are quite different.

Details about this will be given in one of the chapters describing the Kuśāna dynasty. We may note here that the Chaṣṭhaṇa era was started not in A. D. 78 but in A. D. 103. So, the dates above should be 158+103=261 to 264 instead of 158+78=236 to 239.

That can be easily and more convincingly done by further quoting Mr. Rapson. He says[47]:—" But whatever may have been the relationship between these two kings[48], it must remain doubtful, whether either of them could have been the founder of the era in question.[49] They both apparently use regnal years, the one in his inscription[50] and the other on his coins[51]; and such slight evidence as there is, may perhaps indicate that Ishvarsena[52] reigned before Ishvardatta " (p. cxxxvi) ". He further says[53]:—" It may be noticed, however, that his father, the Abhira Shivadatta, bears no royal title and this would seem to indicate that he himself was the founder of the Abhira dynasty and presumably the predecessor of Ishvardatta. The precise connection between these early Abhiras and the later Traikutakas cannot be proved;[54] but it is certain that they ruled in the same region, and that there is no reason why they may not have belonged to the same dynasty. " Read in conjunction, these extracts tell us that the Ābhirs and the Traikūṭaks belonged to the same dynasty, that Śivadatta was the father of Iśvarsen, who founded the Ābhira dynasty and the era, and that Mahākṣatrap Iśvardatta was his successor. As to their time, we have shown in f. n. no. 46 above, that Iśvardatta ruled from 261 to 264. As Iśvarsen preceded him and was probably the founder of the dynasty (and hence the era), his time may be fixed up as 249 A. D.[55]. We find it from

(47) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 162, para. 135, lines 9 to 15.

(48) I. e. Iśvarsen and his successor Iśvardatta.

(49) The Traikūṭaka era is better known among the scholars, by the names Kalchūri or Chedi era. Mr. Rapson refers to that era here. It was begun in A. D. 249. (Read f. n. no. 55 below).

(50) I. e. Iśvarsen. Details about his inscription are given on pp. 303, no. 43.

(51) I. e. Iśvardatta. Details about his coins are given in vol. II, pp. 142.

(52) Read f. n. no. 48 above.

(53) Vide C. A. R. Intro. pp. 136, lines 14 to 21.

(54) The term "later" Traikūṭaks means that there must have been some "earlier" Traikūṭaks. The "later" Traikūṭaks means those whose rule began with that of Dharsen in the 207th year of the era of the same name. (Vide pp. 305, the Pārḍī inscription, no. 44).

(55) Read f. n. no. 49 above.

the rock-inscription that he ruled at least for nine years[56]. So, we may conclude that he ruled from 249 to 261 A. D. To sum up:—

Śivadatta[57] Ābhir[58]

[59]King Iśvarsen, — the founder of the dynasty and of the era. B. C. 249 to 261; he ruled over the region around Triraśmi[60].

Mahākṣatrap[61] — Iśvardatta[62]; B. C. 261[63] to 264 or further[64]. He expanded the kingdom which he inherited

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(56) Vide pp. 303, the Nāśik inscription, no. 43.

(57) He cannot be considered the founder of the dynasty because he bore no royal title and never ascended the throne.

(58) The term "Ābhir" signifies a race. The name of the dynasty may have been based upon that, or better still, upon the family name.

(59) He is the founder of the dynasty because he actually ascended the throne, (cf. f. n. no. 57) in A. D. 249, from which year was also started the era. Of course, the era was founded by Iśvardatta, but he began it with A. D. 249, in consideration of the fact that his father founded the dynasty in that year. He was more powerful than his father and had assumed the title "Mahā-kṣatrap" which is indicative of complete independence. As the era was not founded by Iśvarsen himself, so we find in his inscriptions, "in the particular year of his reign".

(60) Read f. n. no. 24 above for the reason why the term "Tri-raśmi" is used in place of the term "Trikūṭak".

(61) We know the significance of this title. We have explained it in the account of the foreign rulers in previous chapters. (Vide pp. 117 & seq.).

(62) Though Iśvardatta was the founder of the era, yet the founder of the dynasty was Iśvarsen. The era was begun with the year in which he founded the dynasty. Similar examples are found in the accounts of other peoples also. (Read f. n. no. 24).

(63) That they must have been father and son is assumed on the fact that Iśvardatta was the immediate successor of Iśvarsen. (cf. his time.) This assumption is strengthened by the fact that though it was Iśvardatta who founded the era, he began it with the year in which Iśvarsen's rule began. Again, the names "Śivadatta" and "Iśvardatta" also point to a family relation.

(64) We do not know for how many years his rule lasted after 264.

from his father. He conquered a portion of the Kṣatrapa territory[65] and assumed the title Mahākṣatrap.[66]

Let us now give a summary of the whole thing. During the time of Nahapāṇ, both Iśvardatta (Dinik) and his son Ṛṣabhadatta Śaka lived. After an interval of 250 years, the same Śakas began to be called Ābhirs[67]. The first Ābhira king, the founder of the dynasty of the same name was Iśvarsen. His son Iśvardatta extended the territorial limits of his kingdom, and founded the era beginning with the year in which his father founded the dynasty. The era should have been called the Ābhira era; but as these kings ruled over the region around the Triraśmi hills, their dynasty was called Trikūṭak, and the era was called Traikūṭak. It was founded in 249 A. D. We do not know how long the dynasty lasted after the rule of Iśvardatta. Some years later, the dynasty was revived by a certain Dharsen, who came to the throne in 207th year of the Traikūṭaka era (A. D. 456). His successors expanded the kingdom and were ruling over the region upto 245th year of their era (A. D. 494) and even later. The task that now remains to be taken in hand is to fill the gaps, one between Ṛṣabhadatta and Iśvarsen, and the other between Iśvardatta and Dharsen. We shall deal with this later on.

Details about the religion of these people will be given at the end of this chapter.

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(65) The conquest is the same as that which was referred to by Dr. Bhagwānlāl. (Read f. n. no. 43 above).

(66) After becoming independent he must have named his dynasty "Traikūṭak" after the name of the region—Triraśmi. (Read f. n. nos. 24 and and 60 above). The term "later" Traikūṭaks also points to the fact that there were "earlier" Traikūṭaks. These earlier ones were Iśvardatta and others. After a gap of some years, the dynasty must have been revived by Dharsen, one of the "later" Traikūṭaks. Both have used the same era in their inscriptions, which makes it evident that they belonged to the same family. (Read f. n. nos. 22 and 23).

(67) The Ābhirs were powerful in the army of Kṣatrap Rudrasen. (Vide C. A. R. Intro. pp. 61, art. no. 39).

Appendix B

In this appendix, I intend to give some details about the Gūrjars. The accounts of theOśvāls, the Śrimāls and the Porvāḍs-Porvāls[1] are also included here. The term "Gūrjar" at present means all people residing in Gūjarāt and Kāthiāwār. It has now acquired a comprehensive meaning including all castes and creeds. At the time with which we are concerned here, the term had not got the same connotation, because no term like "Gūrjar-rāṣṭra" or "Gūjarāt" had come into existence at that time[2]. The term then included within it theOśvāls, the Śrimāls and the Porvāḍs only. It is as yet not definitely known how the term "Gūrjar" came into being or what its origin was.

Origin of Gurjaras

Scholars hold the belief that the term "Gūrjar" may be a deteriorated form of the name of those Āryans who emigrated to India from Georgiā or George town, a region lying around the Caucasus[3] ranges in the north of Asian Turkey. We have, however, proved that the original home of Āryans was not the one referred to above, but was the region around the Oxus[4] near the town of Murva in Asian Turkestān. They first came to Śeistān, a district of Afghanistan. This district was the birth-place of the author of the Śrutis and was known by the name "Gandriā" which may have, in course of time deteriorated into "Gūrjar"[5]. Of course, no theory is definitely established and proved.

Later on, a group from Śeistān, crossed the Indus in the 6th century B. C. and settled in the region lying along the east

(1) The term "Porvāḍ" is derived from "Paurva", i. e. belonging to the east.

(2) I. e. in the 4th or 5th century B. C. At that time it was known by the name "Lāṭa". Scholars believe that 6th century A. D. was the time of the origination of the Gūrjaras, whose home was the region of Gwāliar and Jhānsī. (Cf. f. n. no. 25).

(3) Read f. n. no. 4 below.

(4) The mistake may have been due to the similarity between the pronunciations of Caucasus and Oxus.

(5) Read the foregoing pages.

of the same river. Again, during the times of Persian emperors, Darius and Xerses, the intercourse between these people—going to Śeistān from the eastern banks of the Indus and vice versa. -was frequent.[6] That contact between the natives and the emigrants suddenly came to a full stop at the time (or just before it) when the prosperous city-Vittabhayapaṭṭaṇ-the capital of Sind was buried underground by a sand storm which transformed it into a desert-now known as the desert of "Jesalmir". The people who had, by this time, settled in India, were large in number. Of them nearly a hundred thousand or hundred and fifty thousand were converted to Jainism in the period of ten years—457 to 447 A. D.—by a Jaina monk, Ratnaprabhasūri by name. These people founded a colony, and a city named Ośiyā[7], in the region where now is situated Bhinnamāl. Its inhabitants began to be called " Ośvāls. " Hearing that their brethern in this colony were happy and prosperous, another group came there from Śeistān, nearly fifty years later. With this group came the fore-fathers of Chāṇakya[8]. Another group including the fore-fathers of Ṛṣabhadatta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ, came and settled[9] in Ośiyā and mixed with the Ośvāls, during and after the time of Priyadarśin, on account of the re-establishment of the close contact between the peoples residing along the eastern banks of the Indus and

(6) The Persian power over this region did not last for a long time. (pp. 227 above).

(7) It is situated in the district of Goḍvāl in Śirohī State in Rājputānā. (The whole of Goḍvāl district including Jālor, Bālotrā, Kumbhalner, Eraṇpurā, Pāli, Luṇi and others was the home of the Gūrjaras. It is nearly 28 miles from Jodhpur, on the side of Mt. Ābu. That was the original home of the Gūrjaras (of the Gūrjar Rājputs according to scholars). Read further in this chapter.

H. P. Chh. (G. V. S.) pp. 68:—"50 miles in the N. W. of Abu was Bhinnamal or Shrimal, the capital of the Gurjara Rajputs. The ruling Gurjara family of Broach was a branch of the Bhinnamala ruling family".

(8) Vide vol. II for details about Chāṇakya.

(9) This happened about B. C. 290 and B. C. 250. (In C. H. I. pp. 156, it is stated that there was a political disturbance among the Sakas during the time of Mithradates II. Possibly it was this occasion).

those residing along the western. Due to the population being overcrowded, another city was founded just near and a part of the population went and settled there. The origin of the Śrimāls can be traced to these new comers and to their mixing with the old ones. By the time, the region came into the power of Kṣaharāṭa Bhūmak, these people had completely adopted the Indian ways of life and had become almost undistinguishably Indian. Moreover, they had long ago embraced Jainism[10], which was fostered among them during the rule of Priyadarśin who gave all religious facilities.[11] Bhūmak's successor, Nahapāṇ became the master also of the region lying on the east of the Arvalli Hills. So, the people residing on the west of Arvalli began to come into contact with those residing on the east. The easterners began to be called "Porvāḍs"[12]. Such, in brief, are my ideas about the origin of the Ośvāls, the Śrimāls[13] and the Porvāḍs. After Nahapāṇ became the ruler of Avantī, people began to spread themselves on all sides. Some of them emigrated to Saurāṣṭra which was also under the power of Nahapāṇ; but large numbers of them came to Saurāṣṭra to settle there during the rule of Ṛṣabhadatta over it. After the death of Nahapāṇ, the throne of Avantī was seized by Gardabhil, before Ṛṣabhadatta, who had started towards Avantī by the route passing through Mt. Abu, reached it. So, he turned back and established his independent power over the region under his control and shifted the seat of his capital to Girinagar

(10) The Śungas, who were staunch and fanatic followers of the Vedic religion, destroyed many Jaina temples and other relics. The region to the west of the Arvalli Hills, however, was not under their power. (Vide details about the territorial extents of Menander and Bhūmak). So they could not molest the Jaina holy places in that region. That is the reason why Jaina temples in that region remained in tact. (Cf. f. n. no. 7 above).

(11) It has been proved in the foregoing chapters that Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ, Ṛṣabhadatta—all Kṣaharāṭs and Śakas were Jains.

(12) This is the reason why we find few Porwāḍa families on the west of the Arvalli Hills.

(13) If this is proved to be true, Ośiyā must have been situated elsewhere. The natives of Ośiyā are called Ośvāls; while the natives Bhinnamāl are called Śrimāls. It is true that these two cities must have been situated near each other.

in Saurāṣṭra. As he was a king much loved by his subjects, most of the good and rich families of Ośiyā and Bhinnamāl started towards Saurāṣṭra. Some of the emigrants settled in Cutch which was on their route. That is the reason, why we find the Ośvāls and the Śrimāls in Cutch at present. There are few Porvāḍa families there, because they were the natives of the region lying along the eastern side of the Arvalli ranges, over which was established the rule of the Gardabhila kings of Avantī. When the Gardabhila[14] king (whose name was Darpaṇ alias Gandharvasen) began to perpetrate atrocities in order to gratify his lust for women, some of the Porvāḍs migrated to the kingdom of Ṛṣabhadatta and settled in north Gujarāt. That is the reason why we find few Porvāḍa families in Saurāṣṭra. The Ośvals and the Śrimāls who settled in Cutch, took to cattle-breeding and agriculture. Of course, most of them have now changed their occupation with the advent of western civilization.

Almost at this time hordes of Śakas came to India to fight against the Gardabhila king. Details about this will be given in the account of the Gardabhila dynasty. They were invited to India to put a stop to the atrocities of the Gardabhila king, as no Indian king was in a position to do this[15]. They first landed on the shores of Saurāṣṭra. Ṛṣabhadatta, who was too old to actively help them and whose son, Devaṇak, was too young to be of very much use, was only too pleased to receive and to extend every facility to, his compatriots, who were to be instrumental in bringing about the destruction of a man whose conduct towards the Jains—though he was a Jain himself—was outrageous and who had usurped the throne to which he was not a rightful claimant. The Śakas stayed in Saurāṣṭra during the monsoon which had already begun and then, re-inforced by the army of Ṛṣabhadatta marched upon Avantī, defeated the Gardabhila king and became masters of Avantī. It may be noted here that these new Śakas mixed with the old ones residing in Saurāṣṭra. Then, after some

(14) He has been called Gardabhil because he founded the dynasty of the same name. All kings of the dynasty are called Gardabhils.

(15) Some details about this have already been given in chap. X.

time, Gautamīputra[16] Śātakarṇi waged wars against the Śakas and almost exterminated them. Those who survived this catastrophe, took to their old occupation of cattle-breeding and horse-rearing and after some time had elapsed, became known as Ābhirs from whom originated the famous Rā' dynasty of Saurāṣṭra. We know that some of the Śakas had settled in the south in the region around Nāsik during the time of Nahapāṇ, who had sent Ṛṣabhadatta and probably his father to fight against the king there. They also, later on, became known as Ābhirs, from whom descended king Iśvarsen, Mahākṣatrap Iśvardatta and all other members of the Traikuṭaka dynasty. The only difference between the Ābhirs of Saurāṣṭra and of the south, is that the former had mixed with the Ośvāls, the Śrimāls and the Porvāḍs while the latter had no[17] such opportunity. It seems they have mixed up with the Āndhras inhabiting there.

The details given above make it clear that the Ośvāls, the Śrimals and the Porvāḍs lived mainly in the east[18] and west of the Arvalli Hills, also in Avantī and in Saurāṣṭra. Over all these parts the Gardabhila king Darpaṇ was ruling at first; then came the Śaka rule; and after the rule of the Śakas over Avantī ended, Śakāri Vikramāditya became its master. After the end of his dynasty, Avantī came under the power of the Chaṣṭhaṇa kṣatraps. All these kings were followers of Jainism[19]. Then the Guptas became the rulers of Avantī. They were followers of the Vedic religion. During their rule, the Ośvāls, the Śrimāls and Porvāḍs were not as happy as they were under the rule of their predecessors. The Guptas, however, always appreciated the idea that the solidarity of their rule would depend upon the love and respect

(16) He was the son of Queen Balaśrī. (Vide C.A.R. Intro. Inscription no.37).

(17) This does not mean, however, that the Ābhirs of south were no followers of Jainism, simply because there were no Ośvāls and others there. Their coins and rock-inscriptions prove conclusively that they were Jains. This is made clear in the succeeding paragraph above.

(18) Read f. n. no. 1 above. Cf. it with no. 7.

(19) The reader may hesitate to believe the fact that the Chaṣṭhaṇas were Jains. He is, however, requested to read the succeeding paragraph. He is also requested to read the details given about their coins in Vol. II.

they inspired among their subjects. Hence they never persecuted their subjects upon religious grounds. When the Gupta dynasty was on its way to decline, Vijayasen, who was the governor of Saurāṣṭra, taking advantage of this weakness of his master, declared himself independent and founded his own dynasty—the Maitraka dynasty.[20] During his rule, also there was no religious persecution. Then the Hūṇa hordes came to India, exterminated the Guptas, and their leader, Tormāṇ by name and his son Mihirkul became the rulers of Avantī. (490 to 533 A. D.). They surpassed all the previous foreign invaders in the atrocities they perpetrated on their subjects. Plunder and pillage, molestation of women and slaughter of those who dared to defy them in any way, became the order of the day. The Ośvāls, the Śrimāls and Porvāḍs, kept patience for a time, thinking that things would assume a calmer aspect after some time. The Hūṇs however had no intention of cooling down. On the contrary, the outrages committed by them began to be more and more ruthless and unbearable[21]. At last these people gathered together on Mt. Abu, one of their holy places. Several other peoples also enlisted their active support. They all took vows[22] to defend themselves

(20) It is not yet known why the dynasty got this name. It is commonly known as "Vallabhī dynasty" in history. Another name of Vijayasen was Bhaṭārkka or Bhaṭṭārak. The dynasty is said to have been founded in the 160th year of the Gupta era (A. D. 479). At that time Skandagupta was ruling over Avantī. When the Gupta dynasty was fast on its way to decline, the successor of Bhaṭṭārak assumed the title "Mahārāja".

(21) Details about Hūṇs are given in the History of India (Hinda-no Itihās), Vol. II, by Chhoṭālāl Bālakṛṣṇa Purāṇi (Published by G. V. S.). On pp. 54, he says:—"All legends unanimously declare that Mihirkūl was a blood-thirsty demon. The Hūṇs recklessly set fire to fields and villages alike and massacred people in large numbers. They were strong, agile and inhumanly cruel. Their voice was shrill, their gestures wild and their appearance ugly and uncivilized. Indians looked at them with terror-stricken and disgusted eyes. They were a race of broad-shouldered, flat-nosed apes with small eyes deep-set in their heads. They did not grow any beard (or very little) and hence neither looked manly when young, nor respectable when old".

(22) In history books we find the mention of the origin of Rājput families from fire, on Mt. Ābu. This is that event. Their names are:—(1) The

against the Hūṇs. From this time onwards, those of Ośvāls, Śrimāls and Porvāḍs, who took up arms,[23] became known as Kṣatriyas[24]. A major battle was fought near Mandsor, which was situated between Ābu and Avantī. The Hūṇs were wiped out almost to a man. This took place in about 533 A. D. The conquered territory was divided by the victors among themselves. One party secured the region including Ośiyā and Bhinnamāl and their descendants became known in history as Pratihāras. Those who accepted the region around Ajmer became known as Chauhāṇa Kṣatriyas. The third party established their power over the region on the south-east of the Arvalli Hills and the fourth over the north-east region of the same. The former, who were masters of Avantī, became known as Parmārs, while the latter, under whose rule was the region around Gwaliar and Zānsi, became known as Maukhari Kṣatriyas[25]. Of these, the Parmārs had distinguished

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Pratihāra family of Jodhpur; (2) The Chauhāṇa family of Ajmer; (3) The Parmāra family of Mālvā; (4) The Chaulukya family. I think the fourth name is wrong. (Read f. n. no. 27 below; also read the matter above).

H. H. pp. 659:—"The Hindu Rishis and Brahmins make new heroes at Mt. Ābu. These heroes are called Agnikula or Fire dynasty".

(23) A man can be a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śūdra, according to the mode of life he adopts for himself.

(24) Due to this reason, the origin of the Ośvāls and Śrīmāls will be found connected with the Kṣatriyas of Rājputānā.

The Ośvāls of Gujarāt and Rājputānā assert that they have descended from the Rājputs. The reason for this claim is stated above.

(25) The scholars have come to the conclusion that the rulers of Gwāliar have descended from Harṣavardhan of Kanoj. The fact is, however, that Harṣavardhan's sister was given in marriage to the king of Gwāliar. This does not, and cannot, mean that the same dynasty ruled over both Kanoj and Gwāliar. It is true that after Harṣa's death, the kingdom of Kanoj was annexed to that of Gwāliar.

Later on, the Kṣatriyas of Gwāliar were given the name "Maukhari". They were related with the Pratihāra kṣatriyas of the region around Kanoj. This, again, does not mean that they both belonged to the same family.

Later on, in "Maukhari" dynasty there was a king named Bhojdev; almost contemporaneously with him "Bhojdev" of the Parmāra dynasty ruled Avantī. (Vide Vol. I, pp. 187, the dynastic lists given in the foot-notes there). Due to their names and times being the same, scholars have confused their accounts.

themselves in the battle by their bravery and their spirit of sacrifice, and were, therefore, allotted the region including Avantī and their position was considered superior to that of the remaining three. The region of Avantī was also called Mālvā. A new era, called the Mālava era, was founded in commemoration of this victory. Scholars hold the opinion that the region occupied by the Maukhari kṣatriyas was the original home of the Gūrjaras, though they give no reason why they think so. They also believe that one of the kṣatriya parties who distributed among themselves the conquered territories was called by the name Chālukyas. As a matter of fact, however, the Chālukya dynasty was founded much earlier and was already in existence[27]. The Chālukyas had nothing to do with the battle referred to above and the territory under their power was quite different from that which was occupied by these first persecuted and then victorious people.

I have given below a summary of the details given above about the Gūrjars. I have also stated in what respects I differ from the conclusions arrived at by scholars. (1) The place of their origin:—Scholars believe that they came from a region named Georgiā which was situated near the Caucasus Ranges. The term "Gūrjar", according to them, is a deteriorated form of "Georgians". Some other scholars hold the opinion that Gūrjaras are a branch of the Hūṇs who poured in India from the north of the Himālayas.

According to my opinion the Gūrjars came from Śeistān or Śakastān, which was the birth place of many of the Vedic sages including Manu. They came to India pressed by either some natural calamity upon their home or due to political persecution.

In the dynastic list, I have, in conformity with opinion of scholars, stated that the Parihāra dynasty belonged to the Maukhari Kṣatriyas. Details stated above, however, show that further research should be instituted before we can come to some definite conclusion about it.

(26) Cf. f. n. no. 7.

(27) This family had come into being long before A. D. 533, the year in which the warfare began. This proves that the family was not one of the four known as Agnikūla. Cf. f. n. no. 22.

(2) The place where they settled:—

Scholars believe that they settled in the region in which are situated Gwaliar and Jhansi.

I believe that they settled in a part of Rajputānā. The seat of their capital was Bhinnamāl, which was situated in the district named Golevāḍ in the Śirohi state.

[Note:—The "Sevak" and the "Bhojak" brahmins of Jodhpur call themselves the natives of Śākadwīp. They fasten a sort of neck-lace like string around their necks.[28] In the inscriptions of Priyadarśin we find mention of "Bhojakas,". Were they the same as the Bhojakas of Jodhpur ?]

(3) Their time:—

According to scholars, their time was the fourth, the fifth or the sixth century A. D.[29].

I believe that though we can trace their origin as far back as the year of the destruction of Vīttabhaya-paṭṭaṇ, yet we may fix up their time to have been 447 B. C., the year in which was founded the city of Ośiyā. They prospered and became happy during the time of Priyadarśin. We may quote here an extract from a Quarterly[30] which supports our contention:—" The probabilities are that the Gurjaras are of the same stock as the Sakas[31] and came into India with them; and on the break of the Mauryan empire they began to rule Gujerat, Kathiawar and Malva, where they had already[32] settled".

Rock-inscriptions and coins are the only things on which

(28) Vide Buddhiprakāś, (the chief organ of G. V. S.), Vol. 76, pp. 11, the lecture of late Sir Jīvaṇjī Modī.

(29) Cf. f. n. nos. 2 and 4.

(30) Vide "The Quarterly Journal of the Mystic Society", Vol. X, 1919-20, pp. 187.

(31) We have proved above that the "Śakas", the "Ābhiras" and the "Trikūṭakas" are names of the same race, namely, the Śakas. The Śakas had settled in Bhinnamāl which is also considered as the place of origin of the Osvāls and Śrīmāls. This proves that the Gūrjaras and the Śakas had settled in the same region and were of a common origin.

(32) The word "already" shows that they had settled there long before they came to power. We know that Nahapāṇ ruled over Avantī in the second century B. C.

we can base our conclusions with the assurance that they are valid. Other pieces of evidence are not so reliable as these two. In the account of the Indo-Scythians we have proved that they were Jains. We have also proved above that the Ābhirs and the Traikuṭaks belonged to the same stock, on the evidence of their inscriptions.

The religion of the peoples whose account has been given above

Their method of inscription was the same. Hence we have reason to believe that they also were, like their ancestors, (the Indo-Scythians), Jains. Their coins also support this conclusion. The coins of the Traikuṭaks[33] bear Jaina symbols like the Sun, the Moon and the Chaitya[34]. It has also been proved that Rāṣṭik or Trairāṣṭika kings of Mahārāṣṭra were Jains. When it is proved that the first kings and the last kings of the Traikuṭaka dynasty were Jains, there can be no reasonable objection to concluding that the intermediate kings also were followers of the same faith. The conclusion stated above, however, cannot always be true. It has been often found that in the same dynasty[35], no matter how long or how short its rule lasted, different kings were followers of different religions[36]. It seems that some such thing took place in the Traikuṭaka dynasty. Iśvardatta and his immediate successors were Jains, as their coins unmistakably prove; the coins of Dharsen, Vyāghrasen and their successors, on the other hand, make it equally clear that they were followers of the Vedic religion. Dharsen and his successors ruled nearly two hundred years after the time of Iśvardatta. Dharsen called himself "Mahārājendradatta-

(33) See their coins and details about them in Vol. II.

(34) For details about these symbols read the two chapters on coins in Vol. II.

(35) The Śātvāhana dynasty of the Āndhras is an instance of this kind. Their dynasty lasted for a long time. The kings in the dynasty often changed their religions. An account of the dynasty is given in Vol. IV. The dynasty lasted for nearly 475 years. The kings followed the religions in the following order:— Jainism; the Vedic religion; Jainism; the Vedic religion. The same thing happened in the case of the Ābhirs and of the Traikūṭaks.

(36) The Mauryan rule lasted for a short time; yet it witnessed change of religion, from Jainism to Buddhism, and back again to Jainism.

putra Parama Vaiṣṇava Śri Mahārāj". His inscription[37] tells us that he celebrated his victory by performing an Aśvamedha sacrifice. We need not discuss here in details the cause of this change of religion within an interval of 200 years. An attempt, however, is made below to explain it as briefly as possible[38].

That all the Chaṣṭhaṇas were Jains is likely to be taken as a startling statement. Some may smile at it ironically or unbelievingly. Some would argue that the very idea, that the Chaṣṭhaṇas, who were foreigners—and valorous ones at that—should have taken to Jainism, the cardinal principle of which is non-violence[39] is absurd. When we think of the place of their origin[40] and of the scenes found in the caves[41] there to-day, much of our doubt above their being Jains, evaporates. Their coins also declare the same thing. They bear Jaina symbols like the "Crescent and Star"[42]. Their inscriptions also prove the same thing[43]. Mr. Rapson has accepted[44] the conclusion that they must have been

(37) Vide pp. 305 above; inscription no. 45; f. n. no. 20 about it.

(38) Details given in the succeeding paragraph are entirely novel. They show how scholars sometimes twist facts or disregard truth, in order to make historical theories suitable to their whims. They will have to change opinions on many points, once the truth of the details given above is proved and accepted.

(39) Non-violence does not make a man cowardly. On the contrary, it gives him spiritual and moral strength which stands by him in all conditions. The Chaṣṭhaṇa kṣatraps, the Śiśunāgas, the Nandas, the Mauryas, the Gardabhilas, the Chedis etc. were all Jains; yet they were all the more valorous for being Jains.

(40) The place of their origin was Turkey in the centre of Asia. That is also the place, near which was Mt. Meru and from which the Āryans scattered in different directions.

(41) In the caves in the hills about Tāskand and Samarkand in central Asia are found scenes inscribed on walls. Scholars have come to the conclusion that they refer to the events that took place in the life of Pārśvanāth, the 23rd Jaina Tīrthaṅkar.

(42) According to Jainism, the motions of the sun and the moon had some connection with Mt. Meru, which was the centre of Jambūdwīp. Hence they are considered as signs denoting permanence.

(43) Details about three or four Kṣatrap-inscriptions are given in C. A. R. There are other inscriptions also. They all support the conclusion stated above.

(44) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 61.

Jains. While giving details about "Junagadh Inscription no 40", which has been found out in a cave there, he says:—"The purport of the inscription cannot be ascertained but it is probably Jain in character"[45]. Ābhira chiefs like Iśvardatta were governors of Jaina kṣatraps[46]; they became independent later on and assumed the title "Mahākṣatrap". Their coins bear the same signs. Later on, the territory over which they had established independent power, was annexed by the Guptas of Avantī, who were followers of the Vedic religion. So Dharsen, Vyāghrasen and their successors who were little more than the governors appointed by the Guptas, adopted the Vedic title "Parama Vaiṣṇava Mahārāj"[47]. Nearly two centuries later, their descendants again embraced Jainism.

We have given above religious details about the Śakas, the Ābhirs and the Traikuṭaks. The Osvāls, Śrimāls and Porvāḍs were Jains from the first. They were converted to it by Ratnaprabhasūri, a great Jaina monk.

* * *

Few points worth mention and pertaining to Parts V and VI which are found out on further study are given below.

(1) Details about the coins of all the kings whose accounts have been given in this volume, have already been given in the two chapters on coins in Vol. II. Some more details are given below.

(2) Pundit Jayasvāl has published some details about the coins of the Śunga dynasty. I have not given those details here because I have not yet found them to be very reliable.

(3) Some general conclusions about the place and the script of the coins are given below.

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(45) The Sudarśana Lake Inscription affords yet another proof of the fact that the Chaṣṭhaṇas were Jains. The inscription has been much misinterpreted by scholars with the result that much injustice has been done to ancient Indian history. We are, however, not concerned with that here. Cf. f. n. nos. 41, 43 above as well as no. 46 below.

(46) We have to note in this connection that the time of the Kṣatraps is the end of the first century A. D. Christianity had, at that time, come recently into being, and it was making rapid progress in Europe. In India, there were only three faiths at that time, namely, Jainism, Buddhism and the Vedic religion. It is quite natural that they must have accepted one of them.

(47) Their coins, however, bear the symbol "The Sun and the Moon", a Jaina sign adopted by their Jaina forefathers.

As regards place, the general belief among scholars is that the place from where a coin is found out, must have been under the power of the king who minted that coin. I have found, however, that this is not always true. We have shown it in the account of Bhūmak (pp. 138). Menander's power never extended over Broach; yet we find coins there, bearing his portrait-head. Reasons for this have been clearly given there. In the account of Nahapāṇ, I intended to give some details about the coins of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, whose mother, Queen Balaśrī, got an inscription erected at Nāsik, describing how he achieved a sweeping victory over the Śakas and the Kṣaharāṭas. Those details have not been given there by an oversight. So they will be given here. At first I believed that his number in the dynasty was later; but on further study I had to change it, to his being a little earlier in the light of certain facts. A corresponding change will also have to be made in his time.[48] Coins of this Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi have been found in Saurāṣṭra (Vol. II, Plate No. 5, no. 76); yet his power never extended over Saurāṣṭra. The reason why the coins are found there is, that the conquest over the Kṣaharāṭs and the Śakas was achieved by him in Saurāṣṭra where he had gone to fight against them at the behest of Śakāri Vikramāditya, his powerful ally. (Vide the accounts of Ṛṣabhadatta and Devaṇak B. C. 52). His coins bear the symbol of Avantī; because the coins really belong to Vikramāditya Śakāri, who, in appreciation of the victory in Saurāṣṭra achieved by Sātakarṇi, allowed him to get his portrait-head embossed over that of Nahapāṇ.[49]

As regards the script, the general custom is that on the obverse side are printed letters in the script of the language of the ruler and on the reverse side are printed letters in the script used by the natives themselves. This will be a good guide to us in deciding over which regions the Greeks, the Bactrians, the Pārthians and other foreigners wielded power. Of these, the Greeks never really settled in India. So their coins (either of Alexander

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(48) In Vol. II, his time will have to be changed; for details vide the account of the Āndhras in Vol. IV.

(49) Details are given in vol. IV.

or of his governors; see pp. 79 for the dynastic list) bear letters in Greek script only. They do not bear any letters in Indian script.

Among the Bactrians, Demetrius was the first to settle in India. We do not find any coins of his predecessors because they invaded India simply to plunder it and to carry away the spoils of war. If a coin is found here and there, it must have been dropped by them, while they invaded and swept through India. The coins of Demetrius and Menanḍer, on the other hand, are found in large numbers. They bear letters of the Kharoṣṭhī script[50]—the mother-tongue of the Bactrians—and also of the Brāhmī script of the Indians. The same is the case with the coins of the Śakas and of the Pārthians. Their mother-tongue resembled Kharoṣṭhī[51]; hence we find the Kharoṣṭhī script on them[52]. Again, it seems that there must have been much resemblance between the Greek script and the Kharoṣṭhī script. So, the scholars confused the one with the other and have confused the Pārthian emperors with yonas and vice versa. The Śakas are confused with the yonas in the same way.

(4) One more detail and we finish.[53]

I have stated that when Demetrius and Menanḍer came to India they brought with them Bhūmak and Rājuvul. Further research has convinced me that Rājuvul did not come with them. They may probably have brought with them Hagām and Hagāmāś. If at all Rājuvul came with them, at least he was not appointed Kṣatrap as Bhūmak was. He must have conquered the region around Mathurā, by defeating the Śunga king Bhānumitra after the death of Menanḍer. Then, he must have assumed the title "Mahākṣatrap." That is the reason why we do not find any coins of his bearing the title "Kṣatrap". He did not come to power, like Bhūmak, with the help of the Bactrian emperor. He had made his way to Mahākṣatrapī quite independently.

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(50) Demetrius was a Bactrian, while Menanḍer was a Kṣaharāṭa. He served a Bactrian Master. We may call both "Indo-Bactrians".

(51) The modern Persian script must have come into existence in later times.

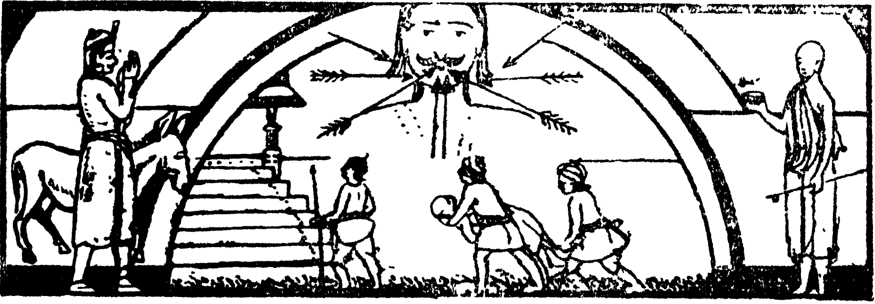
(52) I hope some script-experts will pay close attention to this theory of mine.

(53) In later editions, this correction will be inserted in the account of Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul.

Part 7

PART 7

GARDABHILA DYNASTY



Chapter I

Gardabhila Dynasty

Synopsis:—*The reason why the dynasty was named Gardabhila—The time and the dynastic list of the Gardabhils, and points in which we differ from the conclusions about them, arrived at by scholars.*

The family to which Gandharvasen, the founder of the dynasty belonged.

A short account of the life of Gandharvasen—His defeat at the hands of the Śakas who came to India fresh of Śeistān in compliance with the request of Kālikṣūri.—Details about the Gardabhi stratagem.

GARDABHILA DYNASTY

When Nahapāṇ died in B. C. 74, without leaving any male issue behind him, the rightful claimant to the throne of Avantī was Ṛṣabhadatta, his son-in-law. He was, however, well nigh eighty by B. C. 74, and was, at that time, far from Avantī. So, Darpaṇ alias Gandharvasen seized the throne of Avantī before Ṛṣabhadatta reached it. Gandharvasen was a brave kṣatriya chief and he had mastered a magic art called "Gardabhī". A person, who had acquired mastery over this art, had merely to open his mouth and bray like an ass and those who heard his braying[1] would instantly fall dead to the ground. This braying, however, was to be done on particular days only and that too with a peculiar ceremony. On account of his mastery over this witch-craft, he was also called Gadhrup[2]. His dynasty is called Gardabhil and was founded in 74 B. C. = 453 A. M.

Number and names of its kings

Thus, there is a sort of general unanimity about the time when this dynasty began. As regards its end, however, different scholars hold different opinions. One section[3] of scholars believes that it ended in A. D. 78; and so it lasted for 152 years. The extract quoted below in connection with this, merely states that an era was founded in the 17th year of Vikrama's reign. Then it says that if we deduct these 17 years from 152, the remaining 135 years belong to the Vikrama era. It is not stated whether number 152 has any connection with the end of the dynasty. A good knowledge of history will enable the reader to see for himself that the whole extract really refers to the Śaka era; it

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(1) Vide f. n. no. 54 below.

(2) Princeps' Journal IV, pp. 688: J. A. S. B. Vol. 49, part I:—"The father of Vikrama is called Ghosh Raja or the king of the thickets, which is another name for Gandhrup or Gaddharaj in the west".

Vide Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 145.

(3) N. P. Patrikā, Vol. X, part IV, pp. 724:—"In the 17th year of the reign of Vikram was started the era. The reign of Vikramāditya began 17 years after that of Nabhovāhan. Thus if we deduct 17 from 152, the remaining 135 years will belong to the Vikrama era".

means that the Śaka era was started in the 135th year of the Vikrama era. Again, it is not true that the Vikrama era was started in the 17th year of Vikrama's reign. It will be shown later on, that to fix up number 152, for anything in particular is also not in keeping with facts. Though, thus No. 152 is not based on any solid piece of evidence, yet it is supported by many sources[4]; and hence the dynastic list of the Gardabhils has been fixed up and the periods of the rules of kings in it are adjusted in such a way as to make the total 152. Of course, so long as No. 152 is not proved to be true on solid piece of evidence, all conclusions based upon it must be deemed unreliable.

The number of the kings of the Gardabhila dynasty, as stated in Matsya, Vāyu and Viṣṇu Purāṇs (Cambridge Manuscript) is seven[5]. In Bhāgvata Purāṇ, on the other hand, the number is ten.[6] Though these Purāṇs differ from one another in this matter, our experience tells us that the authors of the Purāṇs wrote them from different points of view. Hence this apparent divergence of views. If we try to go a bit below the surface and look at things from their point of view, most of the divergence will disappear, giving rise to a sort of unanimity. We shall first state the dynastic

(4) The following are the sources from which we get details about the number of kings in the line. None of them, however, state anything clearly about the number 152. Some details are given in. P. K. which we shall note later on.

[a] P. K. pp. 72.

[b] J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, pp. 147 to 157.

[c] C. A. R. Intro. pp. 69.

[d] Merutuṅga Vichārśreṇi, extract from pp. 3; Jaina Silver Jubilee Number, pp. 46, f. n. no. 31.

(5) Really speaking the number comes to six. Read [d] in the following f. n.

(6) In the source f. n. 4 [d] stated above we find:—"Vikram's reign lasted for sixty years; then came to the throne his son Vikramacharitra or Dharmāditya who ruled for forty years; then Bhāilla ruled for 11 years and then Nāilla for 14 years; and then came Nāhaḍ to the throne who ruled for 10 years". In [b] above, the number of kings comes to six.

list based on the authority of Matsya and the other two Purāṇs. Then we shall discuss its pros and cons.

	A. M.	A. M. B. C.	B. C. years
(1) Darpaṇ; Gadhrup; Gandharvasen;	453	463 = 74	64 = 10
(2) Interregnum-the rule of the Śakas[7]	463	470 = 64	57 = 7
(3) Vikramāditya-Śakāri	470	530 = 57	4 = 60½
(4) Vikramacharitra : Dharmāditya	530	570 = 4	44 = 40[8]
(5) Bhāilla	570	581 = 44	55 = 11
(6) Nāilla	581	595 = 55	69 = 14
(7) Nāhaḍ	595	605 = 69	78 = 9½
			152

A glance at the list will show that there were really six kings in the line; No. 2 being the period of the rule of foreigners. Again, as stated in f. n. 4 (b) and f. n. 5 also, the number is six. This, however, does not affect the time-limit—152 years-fixed for the dynasty.

We now turn to writers who are inclined to believe that there were more than seven—nearly ten-kings in the line. The author of "The Hindu History"[9] says:—"At some opportune time Gandharvasen[10] seized the throne of Ujjain. He was succeeded by his eldest son Sanku, who ruled for a short time and then

(7) Vide Buddhiprakāś (organ of G. V. S.), vol. 76, pp. 90; the number of years stated there is seven. Jaina books state that their rule lasted for four years (Vol. I, pp. 195, f. n. no. 33; third verse, last part). Buddhiprakāś's statement seems to be more reasonable of the two. [After nearly 3½ years, after giving up his throne, Gardabhil died. So, the Jaina writers must have included these years in the period of his reign, leaving the remaining four years to the rule of the Śakas. Sometimes we fail to grasp the meaning of the statements of the Purāṇs and of the author of Pariśiṣṭha Parva and very often we fail to reconcile their seemingly opposite statements, because we do not understand their particular point of view.]

(8) Read f. n. no. 6 above.

(9) "The Hindu History" by A. K. Mazmudār, Calcutta, 1920 (from B. C. 3000 to A. D. 1200). Pp. 639 and seq.; also pp. 649 and seq.

(10) He was the founder of the Gardabhila dynasty and the father of Śakāri Vikramādityā. His other names were Darpaṇ and Gadhrup.

fell a victim to the ambition of his brother Vikrama, who made some conquests and consolidated a pretty large kingdom. After some years, leaving the reins of government to his younger brother Bhartrihari, the noted poet, he himself went out in disguise to study India and the Indian politics. Several years after Bhartrihari disgusted with the world, through a family calamity, let the Raj to his ministers and passed into religious retirement[11]. Hearing this, Vikrama hastened to his capital, organized a powerful army, beat back the Scythians and the Parthians and made ample conquests in North India". This extract shows that there were two more kings in the line, namely Śanku and Bhartṛhari. Moreover, Vikramāditya ascended the throne twice, thus making the total number nine in place of six. The same writer[12] says:—"He (Vikramaditya) was succeeded by his son Madhavsen, who married Sulochana, daughter to the king of an island on the Arabian Sea". So, according to Mr. Majmudar, Mādhavsen was the name of the son and successor of Vikramāditya; Merutuṅga Vichārśreṇi, on the other hand, says (f. n. 4 (d) and 6) that Vikramāditya was succeeded by his son Vikramacharitra alias Dharmāditya. Thus Mādhavsen is one more name to be added to the list, making the total ten. Common-sense will tell us that when the number becomes ten in place of six, we shall have to make corresponding changes in the period of rule fixed for the dynasty. As scholars are not as unanimous about the time of its end as they are about its beginning, we shall have to make a change in the former. In short, the year of the end of the dynasty was not A. D. 78 but some year much further than that. Other circumstances also justify this change. It is definite that the Gardabhils ruled over Avantī[13]. Now, we have to find out which of the

(11) Historical details about them will be given in their accounts. We may note here, however, that legends about Gandharvasen, Vikramāditya, Bhartṛhari (Gopīchandra ?) are especially popular and prevalent in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. They are not so well known in eastern India. But the learned Bengali writer has taken due notice of these legends which proves that they have full historical value.

(12) Vide H. H. pp. 639.

(13) I. A. Vol. X, A. D. 1881, pp. 222:—"The Gardabhils were the rulers of Ujjain". (Prof. Oldenberg). Vide also C. A. R. Intro. pp. 69.

powers ruling in other parts of India, must have seized the throne of Avantī after A. D. 78 and in precisely or approximately what year. Such powers were:–the Indo–Pārthians, the Kuśāns, and the Chaṣṭhṇa kṣatraps in the north; and the Āndhras in the south. Of these, the last Indo–Pārthian emperor, in about A. D. 45, went away to Persia to occupy the throne there, merging his Indian kingdom in the Persian empire. The first two kings of the Kuśāna dynasty conquered no territory in India. The third, named Kaniṣka,[14] did establish power in India, but his kingdom did not extend beyond Mathurā. So, these two are out of question. The Chaṣṭhaṇa kṣatraps surely became rulers of Avantī and ruled over it for a long time. So, it must have been they, who succeeded the Gardabhils on the throne of Avantī by supplanting them. As regards the Āndhra kings, only two of them were powerful enough to dare to cast wistful glances over Avantī. One was Vāsiṣṭhaputra Śātakarṇi (Sātakarṇi II) and the second was Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the son of Queen Balaśrī. The first of these ruled in B. C. 224 (ante. pp. 28) and hence is out of question. As regards Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, scholars have fixed up his time two have been A. D. 78 (though this is not the correct time as will be shown in the next Vol.); but there is no proof to the effect that he ever became the ruler of Avantī. Of course, he did inflict a heavy defeat upon the Śakas in Saurāṣṭra. Had he been the king of Avantī, Queen Balaśrī, who so fondly has described all his exploits in the inscription, would never have omitted to mention such an important event in the career of her son. Instead of resting content with describing him as " Lord of the Deccan", she would certainly have appended to his name the more magnificent title " The Lord of Avantī ". Hence we come to the conclusion, that the Chaṣṭhaṇas became masters of Avantī after the rule of Gardabhils came to an end.

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(14) Goṇḍofārnes left north India in A. D. 45. Scholars believe that Kaniṣka of the Kuśāna dynasty established his power in A. D. 78; according to my opinion, however, he did so in A. D. 103. This will be discussed in details in the next volume. As to the problem who ruled over north India from A. D. 45 to A. D. 103, it will be discussed later on. Read further the account of the Gardabhila dynasty.

The grandson of Chasṭhaṇ, Rudradāman by name, was a very powerful king. His name has been included in several inscriptions. The earliest figure found in them is 52. Scholars believe that this number represents the Śaka era and hence they have fixed up 78+52=130 A. D. as the time of Rudradāman; and it is certain that before him, his grandfather Chasṭhaṇ was on the throne of Avantī. Hence scholars conclude that Chasṭhaṇ must have come to the throne of Avantī at last 10 years prior to 130 i. e. in 120 A. D. My research-work, on the other hand, tells me that Chasṭhaṇ must have come to the throne in A. D. 142[15]; and in that year he supplanted the Gardabhils. Thus the Gardabhila dynasty began in the year B. C. 74 and ended in A. D. 142, i. e. it lasted for 216 years. If we deduct the seven years of Śaka rule, the number comes to 209; and if we also do not take into account the first ten years of Darpaṇ's rule, the number comes to 199, during which years the rule of Gardabhils was continuous over Avantī. Now we give below the correct dynastic list:-

		A.M.	A.M.	Years	B.C.	B.C.
(1)	Gandharvasen[16]; Darpaṇ; Gadhrup:	453	463	10	74	64
	The rule of the Śakas :	463	470	7	64	57
						A. D.
(2)	Vikramāditya	470	530	60	57	3
	Śanku[17]	470	470	(six months)		
	Bhartṛhari:-Śukrāditya	470		(some years)		
(3)	Mādhavāditya[18]	530	570	40	3	43
(4)	Dharmāditya[19]	570	580	10	43	53

(15) We shall prove this in the next volume.

(16) Read the extract of f. n. no. 9 from H. H. on the previous page.

(17) Vide their accounts.

(18) The period of the rule of kings from no. 3 to no. 10 was 139 years (A. D. 3 to A. D. 142). The names given are correct; so also the period allotted to each.

(19) No. 2 and no. 3 ruled for long periods. Hence no. 4 must have ruled for a short period because three successive kings related as father and son, cannot all rule for long periods. Again, no. 5 ruled for a long period.

(5) Vikramacharitra: Mādhavsen[20]	580	620	40	53	93
(6 & 7) Names unknown	620	634	14	93	107
(8) Bhāilla[21]	634	645	11	107	118
(9) Nāilla	645	659	14	118	132
(10) Nāhaḍ	659	669	10	132	142
			209 Years.		

(1) GANDHARVASEN

Details (forming a connected account) about the earlier life of the founder of the Gardabhila dynasty are not given in any book. From scattered details that I could glean from various sources, I have tried to make out some sort of connected account.

His early life

In one book[22] it is stated that he was born in Cambay, which was then known by the name "Tambāvatī". In another book[23] it is stated:—"A strange tale is prevalent in north-west India[24] of a Gardabha[25] marrying a daughter of the king of

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Moreover, it is said on the one hand that Vikramacharitra was the son of Vikramāditya and on the other hand that Mādhavāditya was the son of Vikramāditya. So, we conclude that Mādhavsen was the same as Vikramacharitra. Again, both Mādhavāditya and Mādhavsen ruled for 40 years each, so no. 5 has been fixed up by them as the son of no. 2. All these confusions would be clear if nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 are taken as separate individuals. The difficulty raised by the author of Rājataraṅgiṇi also will be solved by doing so. (Vide further on, chap. III; account of Vikramāditya).

(20) Mādhavāditya (no. 3) and Mādhavsen both ruled for 40 years each; again, their names are very similar. So scholars have concluded that they were names of the same individual and have thus reduced the number by one.

(21) It is not known what names nos. 8, 9, 10 assumed after they came to the throne.

(22) Asiatic Researches Vol. IX, pp. 82.

(23) H. H. pp. 649 (But the author has based his conclusions on the statements in Asia Res. Vol. IX, referred to above).

(24) As to how this legend spread upto the north-west part of India, vide the account of Vikramcharitra further in this part.

(25) "Gardabh" here is the name of a man. It does not mean "An ass". Had the people of north-western parts known this, they would not have called this marriage strange.

Dhar". (Asia. Res. Vol. VI, pp. 38; & Vol. IX. pp. 149). On another page[26] of the same book it is stated:—Before their (ancestors of Vikramāditya) occupation of Malva, they probably lived in Anandpur[27] near Udaipur (Mewar)"[28]. In short, a certain

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(26) H. H. pp. 638.

(27) Read f. n. 28 for the situation of Āṇandpur. That it was situated near Udaipur, seems to me to be a surmise of the author of H. H.

(28) The Āṇandpur in question was not situated near Udaipur. There has been no village or town or city of that name near Udaipur.

I have proved that there were three cities bearing the name "Āṇandpur". [Vide "Jaina Dharma Prakāśa" published from Bhāvnagar, Vol. 45. No. 5, pp. 161 to 174; the article on "Vardhamānpuri". Vide "Buddhiprakāś" (G. V. S.) 1934 pp. 58 and pp. 318 to 323; "Ānartpur, Ānandpur, Saurāṣṭra". Vide also "Jaina Jyoti", published from Ahmedabad, Poṣ. No. 4, 1988 V. E. "The Situation of Āṇandpur" and commentary on it in "the Gujarati" (weekly) published from Bombay.]

[1] One Āṇandpur is situated near Choṭilā hills in the Zālāwar district of Kāthiāwār. A king named Dharsen ruled there in the time of Mulrāj Solanki, in A. D. 998. The copper plate at Haḍālā tells us that Mulrāj had defeated Dharsen.

[2] As regards another Āṇandpur, it is said that Dholkā, a town in Kāthiāwār—was then known by the name Vaḍnagar, another name of which was Āṇandnagar. This Āṇandnagar was confused with Āṇandpur.

There is a town named Vaḍnagar in Gujarāt. It is said that it also bore the name Āṇandpur in ancient times. This Vaḍnagar, however, was founded during the time of the Solanki king Karṇadev, in the 11th century A. D. As we are only concerned with the time before the coming of Christ, it is out of question.

[3] It is believed that there was a town named Āṇandpur near Koḍinār in the southern part of Kāthiāwār. It had some connection with the life of that famous poet by name Narsiṁh Mehta. This problem was discussed in "Gujarāti" (a weekly). I have proved there, however, that its situation is not correct.

In short, the Āṇandpur in question—the capital of Gardabh—was the one situated at the foot of Choṭilā hills in Kāthiāwār. The king must have been staying a part of every year at Cambay, because it was a flourishing centre of trades. And so, while during one of his stays there, his queen must have given birth to Vikramāditya.

king named Gandharvasen or Gardabh[29] had his kingdom in Kāthiāwār with Āṇandpur as the seat of his capital. He married the princess of Dhār[30], which is situated on the borders of Mewār and Avantī. This princess gave birth to a son in Cambay[31]. The name of that son was Vikramāditya. The ancient name of Cambay was Tambāvatī[32]. We come to the following deductions from these facts:—(1) King Gardabh must have had some political influence over Dhār (2) His kingdom extended upto Cambay, i. e. upto the borders of Avantī. So, in case of a political upheaval in Avantī, he could easily take advantage of it. (3) He was sure of the support of his father-in-law in case of warfare. (4) Nahapāṇ, though his reign was peaceful, was after all a foreigner; so he thought that the people of Avanti would welcome him whole-heartedly as the king of Avantī. (5) He knew that after the death of Nahapāṇ, Ṛṣabhadatta was the rightful claimant to the throne. But he also knew that in case of a conflict with him he was sure to come out victorious, because Ṛṣabhadatta was in his senile decay and was far from Avantī. All these circumstances must have made him decide to seize the throne of Avantī at the earliest possible opportunity.

Mr. Princeps says that he came of a Kṣatriya family named

(29) The dynasty is named Gardabhil, because its founder had mastered a magic art called "Gardabhī". The founder himself is known by the name "Gardabh", though his real name was Gandharvasen.

(30) It is believed that Dhār or Dhārānagarī was founded by Bhojdev of the Parmāra dynasty in the 10th century A. D. It is probable that the city must have been there, long before the time of Bhojdev and that he, finding the climate, the situation and many other things there, quite suitable to his taste, must have selected it as the seat of his capital.

(31) Cambay and Ānandpur were under the rule of the same king, who may either have been a vassal of Nahapāṇ, or an independent ruler with Saurāṣṭra under his power. We know, however, that Ṛṣabhadatta was all powerful in Saurāṣṭra after the death of Nahapāṇ. This means that while Gandharvasen seized the throne of Avantī, Ṛṣabhadatta, in revenge, wrested Saurāṣṭra from him, for which Gandharvasen must have cared little after his accession to the throne of Avantī. This question remains to be settled by research students.

(32) Some details about Tambāvatī are given ante, pp. 140. We shall have to add something more to it.

"Tuār".[33] He has, however, not stated on what evidence he has based his conclusion. Another writer has come to the same conclusion. He has also tried to give proofs about his conclusion. But in doing so, he has given such ridiculous arguments based on slight similarity of names and has misquoted the Purāṇas so nicely, that we cannot help feeling that he does know what he wants to say. The extracts given below will show how historians are prone to building an edifice of conclusions on such slight and misleading evidence. He says[34]:—"Kushan rule in India—Their two dynasties (1) Kadaphisis Dynasty and (2) Tochari Dynasty. Hindu Purānas called them (Kuchan–Tochari People) Tusharas or Tukharas". The term "Tushār–Tukhār" is similar in pronunciation to the term "Tuār" of Mr. Princeps. So the writer has confused them and has taken them for one. Then he says:—"Kadaphisis in local Prakrit[35] was uttered as Gaddbhas, which the Brahmins sanskritized as Gardabha, Gardabhin or Garddabhilas. A strange tale is prevalent in N. W. India. A Garddabha marrying the daughter of a king of Dhar, was changed into an ass, Skr. Garddabha.[36] That Garddabha is the sanskritized form of Kadaphisis. The sanskrit word Garddabha means an ass. Hence through mis-naming, the foreign dynasty was afterwords known as ass–dynasty[37]. Old Gadhai—Pysa[38] or ass-money have been found in various parts

His family

(33) Princeps Indian Antiquities "Useful Tables", pp. 157:—"This prince (Vikramāditya) was of the Tuar dynasty".

[A Kṣatriya dynasty named "Tuār" or "Tumār" ruled over Dilhi. Had they any connection with these Tuārs ?]

(34) H. H. pp. 649.

(35) Whether "Kaḍaphisis" or any deteriorated form of it meant "An ass" in the Prākṛt spoken in North–Western districts, only the natives themselves know. We hope that the author, however, must have ascertained the truth of it.

(36) This seems to be an outcome of imagination. (Read f. n. no. 25 above). As to why the name "Gardabha" is applied to the dynasty, vide further the account of Gandharvasen.

(37) The author ought to have cited some instances showing that the dynasty of Kaḍaphisis was called "Gardabh". That would have lent colour to his statement.

(38) Vide vol. II, coins nos. 38 and 39, plate nos. 2 and 5. So, the "Gadhaiyās" belong to the Gardabhila dynasty and their time must be fixed up as first century B. C.

of Western India[39]. (J. A. S. B. Dec. 1835 p. 688). It was certainly the coinage of Garddabha princes. In the sanskrit drama entitled "The Little Toy-Cart"[40] of the first century A. D., mention is made of Gaddhi-Skr. Garddabhi-explained by the commentators as coin. (Wilson J. R. A. S. III. 385). Of the ten[41] Garddabha rulers of India, hitherto we know only two".[42]

[Note:—Due to a slight similarity in the pronunciations of terms "Tukhār" and "Tuār", the author has confused Kadaphisis with Gardabhil. We shall prove in the succeeding Vol. that Kadaphisis belonged to the Kuśāna dynasty, which had its origin in the Tukhāra race hailing from Asian Turkey. In short, the Tukhāras were foreigners, while the "Tuārs" were Indian Kṣhatriyas].

(1) DARPAṆ : GANDHARVASEN : GADHRUP

His life

It seems that his original name was Darpaṇ. He must have assumed the name Gandharvasen after coming to the throne of Avantī. We have already stated in what circumstances he seized the throne of Avantī. He was a brave and valorous king. He had mastered a magic art called "Gardabhī"[43], on account of which he was also called "Gadhrup"[44]. His dynasty was named 'Gardabhil' His mastery over witchcraft enabled him to be the ruler of a

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(39) Kaḍaphisis ruled over the Punjab and Kāśmir; his descendants were masters of Pāñchāl and Sūrsen. The coins in question are said to have been found out from western India, which never was under the power of the Kuśāns. Even if we suppose that the coins were found in N. W. Provinces, it will, on the contrary, prove that the Gardabhila kings had brought them under their power. (Vide further the account of Vikramacharitra). So, there is little reason to believe that the coins belonged to the Kuśāna dynasty.

(40) Mṛc-chhakaṭik—Mṛt=earth, Śakaṭik=a small cart=a clay-cart.

(41) See the list on pp. 335.

(42) I. e. Kaḍaphisis I, and Kaḍaphisis II. (It is probable that in A. D. 1920, when his book was published, only two names were known. By this time, however, many names of the Kuśāna dynasty have been found out. So also, are many names of the Gardabhila dynasty known).

(43) For details about this art vide pp. 330.

(44) I. e. one whose face resembles that of an ass or one who can take up the form of an ass. Read f. n. no. 1 above.

large kingdom. It also made him proud and licentious, with results which we shall describe below.

A pair of brother and sister from Bengal[45] who had renounced the world in favour of Jaina holy orders, once came to Avantī, to pass monsoon there. Their names were Kālikasūri[46] and Sarasvatī respectively. Kālikasūri was a very learned man, proficient in all the Śāstras and held the title "Yuga-pradhān"[47]. Sarasvatī was exceedingly beautiful. Once, while she had gone out to ask for food at the houses of the Jaina laity, the king happened to see her. Infatuated with her beauty, the king got her imprisoned in an apartment of his harem. The news spread like wild fire and people's consternation and indignation knew no bounds. A deputation of the people waited upon the king and persuaded him to release the nun unmolested. Kālikasūri himself approached the king and entreated him to undo the evil. The king, however, remained obstinate in his refusal to listen to any importunity. So, Kālikasūri resigned from his holy orders[48] and roamed about the streets of the city like a mad man. People began to evacuate the city[49]. Kālikasūri, then, seeing that the king would not come to his senses without drastic retaliation, set out on a long journey. After crossing the Indus, he went[50] to the home of the Śakas. He stayed there for a year, during which he acquired popularity and fame among them by his

(45) The whole narrative is very interesting. Here only a brief account is given. For full details the reader is requested to go through pp. 147 to 157 of J. B. B. R. A. S. vol. IX.

(46) There was another Kālikasūri. He was the maternal uncle of the Śunga kings Balamitra and Bhānumitra. His time was B. C. 151. The time of this Kālikasūri—the one connected with Gardabhīls—was B. C. 74.

For more details vide pp. 63 & seq.; and f. n. no. 5, pp. 63.

(47) In Jaina books, his time is stated to have been 400 to 453 A. M.= B. C. 127 to 74. This means that the Jaina books have stated the period of time, during which he was in Jaina holy orders. In B. C. 74, he resigned from the orders, in order to take revenge upon the Gardabhila king. He achieved his object after nearly 10 years in B. C. 64.

(48) Read f. n. no. 47 above.

(49) Read f. n. nos. 13 & 14 in next chapter.

(50) Read f. n. nos. 6 & 21 in next chapter for the reason why he went there.

proficiency in astrology. He took advantage of every opportunity of coming into contact with many members of the nobility and with many chiefs. He induced them to invade India by promising them large slices of Indian territory as fruits of their invasion. Hordes of Śakas landed[51] on the shores of Saurāṣṭra, via Persian gulf and the Indus. As monsoon had already set in, the Śakas stayed in Saurāṣṭra over which was ruling Ṛṣabhadatta[52], a compatriot of theirs. He gave them all facilities and assistance. After the monsoon was over, they marched through Gujerāt and invaded Avantī. Gardabhil, proud of his army and his mastery over the magic art, marched against them. A major battle was fought in which the skilled archery of the Śakas enabled them to gain ground rapidly. Thinking that he was sure to be defeated in an open battle, he retired into the city, ordered the city gates to be closed and decided to take recourse to his magic art. When Kāliksūri heard this, he at once realized the danger imminent upon the Śakas. He immediately convened a meeting of the Śaka chiefs, explained to them the nature and efficacy of the "Gardabhī" art and instructed them to stuff their ears with cotton, so that they might not hear the braying[54] of Gandharvasen.

(51) J. I. H. Qu. Vol. XII, pp. 17 (by Prof. Stein Konow):—"I am inclined to agree with Mr. Jayasval that the Sakas left Seistan during the reign of Mithradates II, in consequence of the increasing pressure he was bringing upon them". [In Jaina books. it is stated that among the Śaka chiefs, was a leader who was called the emperor. On certain occasions he issued a firman in obedience to which, the chiefs had to send one of their sons for sacrifice. All these things took place during the time of Mithradates II. (B. C. 123 to 88=35 years. Vide pp. 79 the dynastic list there).

This was the third influx of the Śakas in India. (Chap. IX for the account of the Śakas).

The chief who gave shelter to Kāliksūri was "Sādhansimh" by name. He was also called "Śakakūlarājā". Jaina books call him "Pāraskūl Rājā". (ch. ix).

(52) Vide his account.

(53) The Śakas were masters of archery. (Three Śakas hordes came to India at different times. For instances of their skill in archery, vide the accounts of Bhānumitra (pp. 67) and Bhūmak (pp. 136 & seq.).

(54) The remaining part of the army was to recede far enough so that they might not hear the braying.

The whole Śaka army was prepared that way. Some of the most expert archers were instructed to scale the fort walls and to stuff the king's mouth with arrows, the moment he opened it for braying[55]. Thus fore-warned and prepared, the whole army eagarly awaited for the occasion. On the fixed day, the chosen Śaka archers scaled the walls of the fort and waited in readiness for the king to open his mouth. No sooner did the king's lips part, swift arrows fell in showers in his mouth making it impossible for him to produce any sound. Thus capsized, he sued for peace and submitted to all peace-terms. Kāliksūri's sister was immediately set free. The Śaka chiefs became the masters of Avantī and Gardabhil was allowed to quit Avantī with his family. This took place in A. M. 463 = B. C. 64.

His end and his territory

We do not know what happened[56] to Gardabhil after this. His sons[57] were given shelter by Ariṣṭakarṇa, the Āndhra king in south India[58]. He was a brave king and was a follower of Jainism. The sons of Gardabhil thought that, at an opportune moment, this king whose religion was the same as theirs, would help them in regaining the lost throne. Later on, as we shall see, this hope was realized.

Ṛṣabhadatta was the master of Saurāṣṭra as well as of all the region on the west of the Arvalli hills. The region to the south of the river Tāpti was under the power of the Āndhra king. Gardabhil's power over the region surrounding Godāvarī must have been little more than nominal. In short, the kingdom of Gardabhil, consisted of Avantī only.

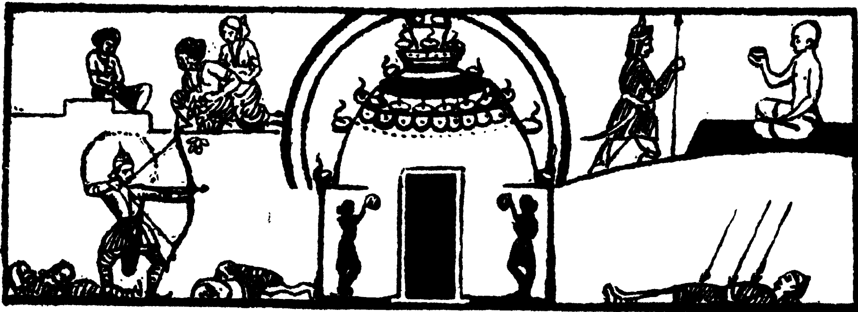
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(55) This was to be done with the help of eyes only. Their ears were sufficiently stuffed to render their hearing faculty ineffective.

(56) It is probable that he must have kept himself in hiding at some place, where he died after 3½ years. (Read f. n. no. 7 above). He must have thus died in A. M. 466=B. C. 61

(57) He had at least three sons. Their accounts will be given later.

(58) The seat of the capital of the Āndhras was not in Pratiṣṭhānpur at this time. The Āndhra king was defeated in a battle against Nahapāṇ's son-in-law, Ṛṣabhadatta. So he had to shift his capital to Warangul. The sons of Gardabhil went there for shelter.



Chapter II

Inter-regnum

Synopsis:—*The meaning of the term "Inter-regnum" as it is used here—Characteristics of the Śakas and their emigrations to India at various times—The circumstances under which they were invited to India—The price paid by the people of Avanti for this invitation.—The dynastic list of the Śakas and some details about their rule—Their wars against Śakāri Vikramāditya and Āndhra king Śātakarṇi, and the result of the wars.*

Details about Vidiśā, Bhilsā and Ujjaini, over which numerous dynasties ruled as masters of Avantī—Puṣpapur; to how many cities can the name be applied?—The importance of Avanti to the Jaina community, both from historical and from literary points of view.

INTER-REGNUM

The word inter-regnum generally means the period between the end of a king's reign and the accession of his successor. The word is not used here in this sense. I have used it here to represent a period of anarchy and misrule—an interval during which the state has no normal ruler. It represents a break in a dynasty and the period of break is full of misrule and persecution of the people.

Its meaning & time

Some writers hold the opinion that after the end of Gandharvasen's rule, such period began and lasted for 4 years.[1] Others believe that it lasted for 7½ years.[2] The second theory seems to be the more probable of the two, though the dynastic list given by these writers-the holders of the theory-shows that the period lasted for 8½ years[3].

The Śakas ruled over Avantī during this interval. Some details about the cause of their coming to India have already been given in the previous chapter. We may note here, that all the details given there were based upon Jaina sources. In the Yugapurāṇ, which is appended to Gargasamhitā, a very ancient Vedic work on astrology, however, the same details are given. So, we can confidently assert that those details, thus supported by ancient books of two religions, give us cent percent truth. In Bibliotheca Indica, Dr. Kern in his introduction to Bṛhatsamhitā has allued to these details. The famous archeologist, Pundit Jayasval, has also thrown light upon this in the September (1928) number of "The Journal of the Behār and Orissā Research Society". All these things definitely establish the fact that the Śakas ruled over Avantī during the inter-regnum that represents the break in the Gardabhīla dynasty.

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(1) Vol. I, pp. 195, f. n. no. 33; vide also f. n. no. 7 on pp. 332.

(2) N. P. Patrikā, vol. X, part IV, pp. 732, f. n. no. 104, "In the 462nd year of the Mahāvīra era, there lived the Saka king who ruled over Avantī". (According to this, the period of the rule of the Śakas was 8½ years. Cf. f. n. no. 3 below).

(3) Read f. n. no. 2 above.

In part VI, we have given an account of the Śakas. Those, who first settled in India and then became rulers in it, have been called by us Indo-Scythians in order to distinguish them from those, who invaded India and having defeated a king in it, became the rulers of the territory under that king's power. We have given these latter the name " Scythians ".

Some of their habits and characteristics

Their original home was Seistān, on the east of which was Sind, on the west, Persia and on the north, the territory of the Kṣaharāṭas. Hence they came into close contact with Indians, Persians and Kṣaharāṭas and had adopted many of their ways of life. During Udāyan's powerful rule over Sind, the Indian influence upon the Śakas was so strong that many of them had embraced Jainism which was the most prevalent religion in Sind.[4] Then Udāyan renounced the world and according to his desire his nephew came to the throne. Misguided by his ministers, the new king began to persecute his subjects ruthlessly. So much had he gone into the depths of moral degradation that when his uncle—now a Jaina monk-returned to Sind in order to advise him to turn to the path of righteousness, he, persuaded by his minister, tried to poison him to death by mixing poison in his food. From that time onwards his power began to decline rapidly. In a short time, a gigantic sand-storm overpowered the capital which was buried underground with all the life and wealth in it and a large desert stretched over the place—which is now known as the desert of Jesalmir, and which has supplied the archeologists with a highly interesting problem. In Vol. I, on pp. 217 and sequel, we have given full details about these excavations known by the name Mohan-jā-ḍero. After this time, the territory of the Śakas came under the power of the Persian empire. This power lasted for nearly two centuries, during which time the Śakas forgot and gave up many of their Indian ways of life. We have stated below different phases of Śaka civilization in relation to their political

(4) The relics of the ancient age, that are being excavated at present at Mohan-jā-ḍero by the archeological department, prove the truth of the statement made above.

subjection to foreign powers as well as in relation to their coming under the social and religious influence of other people, on account of mutual association due to their emigration or due to their being in the neighbourhood e. g. (1) Under the rule of Udāyan over Sindh (2) and under the Persian empire. (3) In B. C. 5th century, a large group of Śakas crossed the desert and came to India[5] for trade purposes. They founded a colony near modern Jodhpur, with Ośiyā—a city founded by them, as the seat of their capital (pp. 314). (4) Alexānder the Great invaded their territory. The Greek domination lasted for nearly 30 years—upto the time when Seleucus Necator gave his daughter in marriage to emperor Aśok. (5) Later on, their territory came under the power of Indian emperors, e. g. Aśok and his grandson, Priyadarśin. (6) When the Mauryan power declined, their territory came under non-Indian domination and remained so, for all time to come. Being hard-pressed, during and after, the rule of Mithradates and attracted by the benevolent rule of Bhūmak in India, two Śaka groups migrated to India and settled in Bhūmak's kingdom. (pp. 315). (7) Later on, one more group came to India. These frequent changes in political domination and social and religious associations had one decided effect over the Śakas: their development–social, political or moral–was never homogenous, regular or gradual. Hence, we find that they still clung to their primitive ways of life—cattle-breeding and horse-rearing and had unabated ferocity of temperament together with uncanny skill in archery. They had been, however all the while, civilizing themselves and adopting the customs of many ruling dynasties and races, though, of course, in a hap-hazard way. As often is the case with such semi-barbarous people, their treatment of females was highly noble and chivalrous. Attracted by this trait, Kāliksūri approached them for help[6], when the Gardabhīla

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(5) The emigration to India took place most probably due to the tyrannous rule of the Persian emperors.

(6) Kāliksūri must have decided to obtain the help of the Śakas for several reasons besides their chivalrous treatment of women. They were brave and they were Jains. That the Śakas possessed these qualities to a high

king transgressed all bounds of decent behaviour. Kāliksūri had also heard that the wanton rule of Śungas[7] was replaced by Nahapāṇ and his son-in-law Ṛṣabhadatta—a Śaka—who restored moral order and law in their kingdoms.[8]

The price of the protection sought

Later on, however, Kāliksūri and the people of Avantī, who had eagarly awaited the invasion of the Śakas, found to their bitter disappointment that they had stepped into fire from the frying pan, that they had invited a greater evil in order to eradicate the lesser one. The price was a hundredfold heavier. During their rule of 8 years[9], the Śakas ran amock over the whole country,

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degree had become evident to the people of Avantī during the 80 years of the rule of Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ. (Cf. f. n. no. 21 below).

(7) That the Śungas were always under the powerful influence of Patañjali as well as of the Kaṇva ministers, has now been definitely established as true. Now, Patañjali as well as the Kaṇva ministers were all devout followers of the gospel preached in Upniṣads and Śrutis. The authors of Upniṣads and Śrutis were born in Śeistān, the home of the Śakas. Why, then, did the devout followers of these authors of Śrutis encourage, or connive at, the licentious conduct of the Śunga kings, when the natives of the same country in which they were born were highly chivalrous towards women? Surely, the answer is yet to be found out.

[It is possible that at the time, when the authors of the Śrutis and other sacred books were born (B. C. 8th to 10th century), purity of character must have been the criterion of respectable and civilized life. Then, by the time of the births of Mahāvīr and Buddha, the Vedic religion must have been in decline, with a consequent lowering down of the standard of conduct. Cf. "Paritrāṇāya Sādhunām, Vināśāya cha duṣkṛtām" etc. on pp. 6 in vol. I and on pp. 2, f. n. no. 1 in vol. II.]

(8) The Śakas were endowed with a noble disposition by nature. But, after coming into contact with some depraved portions of the people of Avantī, a certain degree of degradation became apparent in them. An example of this will be given in the account of Bhartṛhari, to be given later on.

(9) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, pp. 139. (C. A. I. pp. 104):—"In fact the Jaina chronicles give 17 years to a Śaka rule at Ujjain from B. C. 74 to 57 when Satigani was Raja of Paithan."

[The real name is Śātakarṇi (not Satigani). Details will be given in the next vol. in the account of the Āndhra dynasty. The figure 17 has given rise to a great amount of confusion. We shall deal with this at length in the account of the Vikrama era.]

plundered and looted the people and practically ruined every city, town and village. The whole regions of Vidiśā and Ujjain were evacuated and practically deserted. People awaited a deliverer with the anxiousness of a peacock for rainfall.

In the short period of eight years, five Śaka kings came successively to the throne of Avanti. For details about them we have quoted below an extract from Yugapurāṇ[10]:—" Among the Śakas, will be a powerful king named Amlat, who will value his bow and arrow more than anything else[11]. That red-eyed Shaka, irresistible on the battlefield, will invade Pushpapur[12] and by the time he reaches the city he will find it evacuated[13]. Then the Mleccha, clad in red will order a wholesale massacre of the unprotected civilians of the city[14] and will destroy all the four classes.[15] Then he will people the town with the low and the mean and the depraved[16], and at last he and his relatives[17] will go to the lords of hell. Over the remnant of the people[18] then will rule his successor Gopal[19], who, having ruled

(10) Buddhiprakāś, Vol. 76, pp. 88; the article there, is a reproduction of the lecture by late Diwān Bahādur Keśavlāl Harṣadrāi Dhruv.

(11) Read the paragraph above, entitled "Some of their habits and characteristics".

(12) In the original book, no name was given. The translator inserted the name Puṣpapur, thinking it to be another name of Pāṭaliputra of Magadh. The real meaning of the word Puṣpapur to be taken here is " a city full of flowers." It means that it was a city full of parks and gardens and was also a flourishing centre of trade and commerce.

(13) When the Śakas entered the city, they found the town evacuated. Some people who had remained in the city were slaughtered by them. Cf. f. n. no. 14 below and f. n. no. 49 on pp. 341.

(14) Read f. n. no. 13 above.

(15) I. e. all Indians were killed, without any distinctions or reservations.

(16) The Śakas had no class-divisions. These Śakas inhabited the evacuated city.

(17) Details given about Amlāṭ are—most of them—representative of his race.

(18) This means that a part of the population has remained in the city.

(19) The fact that some of their names are distinctly Indian, shows that

for a year, will be killed by Pushpak on the field of battle. Then Pushpak will ascend the throne—the sinful Mleccha.[20] After ruling for a year, he will also be killed. He will be succeeded by Sharvila, whom no one shall be able to resist on the field of battle and whose reign will last for three years, at the end of which he will be killed. Then will come to the throne a king whose name will be unknown and who will oppress the Brahmanas[21] to an unutterable degree. His evil reign will last for three years. Then that covetous, miserly and very powerful king, hankering after the conquest of the land of king Shata[22] of Kalinga, will invade it and on the field of battle he will fall dead pierced by a lancet[23]. The destruction of the Shakas is inevitable. Then that king, best devoted to peace[24] will overpower and conquer the world by his prowess and having ruled for ten years, will die. All the powerful Shaka kings will be exceedingly greedy and their greed will bring about their ruin[25]. Avantī will be a deserted

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they had adopted many Āryan ways of life and that they had not forgotten the Āryan culture altogether, though they were since long, under Persian domination. Cf. names like Naravāhan, Ṛṣabhadatta etc.

(20) Vide supra pp. 101, f. n. no. 1; the difference between "Mlechchha" and "Yavana" is this; the former term was used to denote non-European and uncivilized people; while the latter term denoted Europeans see infra f. n. 29.

(21) The fact that the Śakas were the enemies of Brahmins proves that they had no connection with the Vedic religion. This also shows that the Śakas had some traits of Jainism in them. Those traits were fostered in them by Priyadarśin. This was the reason why Kāliksūri had decided to invite them to Avantī. (Cf. pp. 341, f. n. no. 50 and f. n. no. 6 above).

(22) "Śāta" is the shortened form of the term "Śātavāhan". (Vide Vol. IV for their account). Any member of the dynasty may be called by this name. This also proves that at that time Kaling was in the power of the Śātavāhan kings.

(23) It may have been a sharp arrow or a javelin.

(24) Of all the Śātavāhana kings of Āndhra he has been considered to be the best. (Vide vol. IV for his account). Ten years after this conquest he died.

(25) Cf. the account given in the rock-inscription by Queen Balaśrī.

country and Pushpapur[26] will be evacuted. May it be the seat of the capital of a new dynasty[27] in future[28] ".

From the above-quoted extract, we may give the following dynastic list of the Śakas;—

	A. M.	B. C.	years
(1) Amlāṭ	463–463	= 64–63	½
(2) Gopāl[29]	463–464	= 63–63	½
(3) Puṣpak	464–465	= 63–62	1
(4) Śarvil	465–467	= 62–60	2¾
(5) Unknown	467–470	= 60–57	2¾
		total years	7 or 7½

(26) I. e. Puṣpapur was destroyed and a new city was founded in its neighbourhood. Cf. f. n. no. 12, and details about "Apāpānagarī" below.

(27) I. e. neither the Śaka dynasty nor the Śātavāhana dynasty.

(28) Kings of a new dynasty will make it the seat of their capital. Read the paragraph entitled "Apāpānagarī". The king, who will destroy the Śakas, will make it the seat of his capital.

(29) The names seem to have much affinity with Sanskrit; Paṇḍit Jayasvāl, however, believes that they had connection with the names of Greek chiefs. (Vide J. O. B. R. S. 1928, Sept. issue, pp. 142). In Buddhiprakāś, Vol. 76, pp. 100, Divān Bahādur Keśavlāl Harṣadrāi Dhruv has commented upon this to the effect that the Sanskritized names show that the holders of those names were Śakas who had settled on both the sides of the Indus and who had, in course of time, Hinduized their modes of life. It does not seem probable that the Śakas had conquered at the time the region called Antarvedi (between the Ganges and the Yamuna). In short, these Śakas had relations with the Indo-Scythians; they did not come from the north of India. (Some scholars hold the belief that the Śakas came from the north of India. They are requested to take note of the facts stated above).

Mr. Dhruv further points out that Paṇḍit Jayasvāl's contention that Amlāṭ and others have points of resemblance with the Greeks, is ill-founded. He argues:—(1) In Vāyupurāṇ these kings have been called "Mlechchhas". Had they been Greeks, the author of the Purāṇ would have used the term "Yavana". (2) The Greeks were a civilized race while the Śakas were semi-barbarous robbers. Though Alexander the Great and his generals ruthlessly killed all who dared to oppose them, they never, like the Śakas, slaughtered the civilians. Neither had they in them anything of the greediness of the

While the last Śaka king was on the throne in the first quarter of the year 57 B. C,[30], the sons of Gandharvasen, who had taken shelter[31] under Ariṣṭakarṇa, the Āndhra king, made preparations to invade Avantī[32] with the help of the Āndhra king. On the banks of the Narbadā, near Kārūr[33], a major battle was fought between the two armies. The Śakas were annihilated to a man and Vikramāditya, the Gardabhīla prince achieved a sweeping victory. As a destroyer of the Śakas, he assumed the title Śakāri. The people of Avantī, who had been in the throes of persecution for seven mortal years, hailed their deliverer with no common jubilation and inaugurated an era in his name from that very time[34], i. e. in A. M. 470[35] = B. C. 57.

Śakas. Therefore, Paṇḍit Jayasvāl's theory that Amlāṭ resembles Amyntas, Gopal resembles Apollophanes, Pushpaka resembles Penkelaos and Sarvila, Zoilos, is not very sound,

[This shows how sometimes highly reputed scholars also labour under erroneous conceptions; the pity and irony of the situation being that even in their errors they are supported and applauded by the reading public.]

(30) I. e. Three months had elapsed since the beginning of the year 57. Sir Cunningham states in "Book of Indian Eras". pp. 8, "The initial point of this (Vikramaditya's) era ought to be B. C. 57 or $56\frac{3}{4}$ instead of 56".

(31) Vide chap. I. pp. 343.

(32) According to some scholars the battle took place near Mandasor which is near Udaipur. This cannot be true. For details, vide the chapters on eras. Part viii.

(33) C. H. I. pp. 533 (f. n. no. 1):—"These kings (Gardabhilas) appear to have been, according to the Puranas the successors of Andhras (See Kali Age, pp. 44–46, 72) from the account which represents Vikramaditya as having come to Ujjain from Pratisthanpur". [Note : The Gardabhīls never became the rulers of Āndhra. The facts have already been given above. They had merely taken shelter under the Āndhra kings. This shows how, many a time, scholars misunderstand and misinterpret the Purāṇas.]

(34) Read f. n. no. 30 above.

(35) The time of the founder of the Gardabhīla dynasty has been stated to have been A. M. 453; which the Vikrama era has been stated to have been begun in A. M. 470, i. e. there was an interval of 17 years between the two events. This is not quite true and many confusions have arisen out of this. For details vide the chapters on eras. Part viii.

The Śaka king and his remaining army, suffering a terrible defeat, retreated in the forest. Then hearing, that the Āndhra king the root-cause of the invasion, he marched southwards burning with a desire to wreak vengeance upon him. Hearing that the Śaka hordes were rapidly marching towards his kingdom, the Āndhra king made all preparations for defence and other tactics of defeating the enemy. At last a major battle was fought between the two armies and pierced by a lancet hurled by a soldier of Ariṣṭakarṇa's army, the Śaka king fell dead on the battle-field[36]. Ten years after this event, which happened in 56½ B. C., the Āndhra king died in B. C. 46-47.

Thus ended the inter-regnum and the Gardabhīla dynasty was re-established on Avantī. We shall revert to the account of the dynasty after giving below some details about Ujjain.

Vidiśā, Bhilsā and Ujjaini

Rājgṛhī and then Paṭliputra, the capitals of Magadh, enjoyed the same position which to-day the metropolis of the British Empire does. From the time of Chandragupta Maurya, however, their importance began to be less and less because Chandragupta used to stay most part of every year in Avantī, to which he was more attached on account of religious reasons. Later on, Emperor Priyadarśin shifted the seat of his capital there. From thence, Avantī held the highest position in India. The Śungas, who succeeded the Mauryas and the subsequent foreign rulers also had their headquarters in Avantī, thus making it the centre of all political, religious, economic and social activities. During the rule of the Gardabhīla dynasty and also during the short intervening rule of the Śakas, many things happened to it, as we have seen from the extract quoted above from Vāyapurāṇ. Then Śakāri Vikramāditya made it the seat of his capital. An attempt is made below to give a connected account of Avantī.

Some of the details have already been given in vols. I and II.

(36) Cf. the details given in the Nāśik inscription by Queen Balaśrī in praise of her son, Gautamīputra. All these details will be given in the next volume.

The points given below are a neat summary of noteworthy things:—

(1) One of the names of Avantī was Viśālānagrī; the other was Puṣpapur[37].

(2) The region of Avantī was divided into two parts–eastern Avantī (Āker) and western Avantī. Vidiśā or Bhilśā was the capital of the former; Ujjaini, Avantī was the capital of the latter.

(3) Chandragupta had got a palace built in Vidiśā. He used to stay there for the most past of every year. During his period of governorship, Aśok married the daughter of a rich Vaiśya merchant there.

(4) A part of Vidiśā was called Besnagar. It is not known whether Besnagar was founded first or Vidiśā.

(5) Some region around Vidiśā was given the name Sāñchī which is closely connected with Jainism.

It is quite likely that the name "Puṣpapur" may remind the modern student of history of Pāṭliputra, the capital of Magadh. Mr. Dhruv also has put this interpretation upon it. The extract quoted above from Vāyupurāṇ, however, shows that Ujjaini was also called Puṣpapur in those times. Avantī has got closest associations with Jainism. So Puṣpapur—be it interpreted as Paṭliputra or as Ujjaini—also must have been a centre of Jaina activity. Details given about Peśavar (Puṣpapur) near Taxilā (Vide supra pp. 212–24), support this contention. Another name of Ujjain was Viśālā. Mahāvīr, the 24th Jaina Tīrthaṅkar was born in a city bearing the same name. In short, Puṣpapur and Viśālā are closely connected with Jainism. So, instead of considering them as merely proper nouns, it would be better to treat them as adjectives. An attempt is made below to describe their religious importance.

During his governorship of Avantī, Aśokavardhan married the daughter of a rich merchant of Vidiśā. She gave birth to a

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(37) Read f. n. no. 48 below.

(38) Read f. n. no. 12 above for the meaning of Puṣpapur. For the eaning of "Viśālā", vide vol. I, pp. 177.

son, Kuṇāl by name. All this is given in details in Vol. I[39]. Again, Chandragupta had got a palace built there, where once he dreamt fourteen dreams during one night.[40] This shows that Vidiśā was a prosperous and large city before the time of Chandragupta. Again, much before the time of Chandragupta there were two kings, Chaṇḍapradyota of Avantī and Udayan of Vatsa. They were enemies. So, Vatsa started towards Avantī from Vatsa-paṭṭan or Kauśāmbī with a large army. On the way he traversed a forest and indulged in elephant-fight there. Then he took by force Vāsavadatta, the daughter of Chaṇḍapradyota[41]. This, in short, shows that upto the time of Chaṇḍapradyota, a large and dense forest stretched between Kausāmbī and Avantī[42]—a forest dense enough for the stay of elephants in it. Chaṇḍa died in 527 B.C. His dynasty ruled over that region for some time after that. In B. C. 467, Nandivardhan I, the emperor of Magadh, conquered it.[43] It is not known what the condition of the region was at that time. It is, however, quite certain that upto 527 B. C. most of it was a forest. At the same place, by B. C. 372 there had come into existence a large and flourishing city, a very emporium of trade and commerce. This shows that the city must have been founded any time between 527 B. C. and 372 B. C. i. e. 155 years. Out of these 155 years, for 95 years from B. C. 467 to 372 B. C. the Nandas were the rulers of Magadh and their seat of capital was Pāṭliputra. So, during that time, little attention must have been paid to Vidiśā, because the Nandas would not have been interested in attaching to any other city more importance than to Pāṭliputra. Hence, it is possible that the city must have been founded (and must have flourished too) during the 60 years

(39) The account of Aśok in vol. II.

(40) The account of Chandragupta in vol. II for this.

(41) This is quite well known to historians. A brief account of the same is given in vol. I, while writing about Udayan of Vatsa and Chaṇḍa of the Pradyota dynasty.

(42) Cf. Vol. I, pp. 204, f. n. no. 51, the line "Saṅgh Chaturvidha sthāpavā Mahasen vana āyo".

(43) Vol. I, pp. 209; also the account of Nandivardhan in the same vol.

from 527 B. C. to 466 B. C., during which the region of Avantī was under the rule of the kings of the Pradyota dynasty[44]. Details given in the succeeding paragraph support this contention. We may note here that Chaṇḍapradyota and Mahāvīr the 24th Jaina Tīrthankar died on the same night in the last quarter of 527 B. C.[45]. Probably the city therefore was founded very shortly after this.

Facts given above prove conclusively, that by the time of the later Maurya kings, Vidiśā was a very large and prosperous city,—a centre of all social, political, economic and religious activities. They had made it the seat of their capital. This is the reason why Vidiśā has been stated to have been the capital of the Śunga kings, who succeeded the Mauryas. The author of H. H. has described Agnimitra as the "ruler of Vidisha"[46]. A doubt, however, assails our minds here. The Śungas, as we know, were fanatic followers of the Vedic religion and they doggedly destroyed everything connected with Jainism. Hence, logically, they must have destroyed Vidiśā also. Thus, it would be better to fix Ujjaini as the seat of their capital. The Puṣpapur, mentioned in the Vāyupurāṇ, was but another name of Ujjaini. But if we accept as true the details stated on pp. 34, f. n. no. 48, we shall have to agree that Puṣpapur was another name of Vidiśā and that the seat of Agnimitra's capital was there. But again, history books tell us that Agnimitra plundered, pillaged and burned a certain Puṣpapur. So, we have again to swing over to the theory that Puṣpapur may not be another name of Vidiśā. But, still, when we read that Agnimitra perpetrated these atrocities because he coveted the gold, which–he had heard,—was stored[47] in the Stūpa there and also when we read the name of the river Soṇ in connection with the ruin of the city on account of excessive

(44) The description of Avantī in Vol. I.

(45) Vol. I, pp. 195; read the three verses quoted there and their meaning.

(46) Pp. 49, f. n. no. 38; C. H. I. pp. 201, quotation given there.

(47) Nanda is said to have erected gold stūpas in Pāṭaliputra; but no such stūpa was erected near Vidiśā. None of the stūpas erected near it was stored with wealth.

rainfall, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that Puṣpapur, which Agnimitra destroyed, was none else but Pāṭliputra. Once we accept the truth of the last-stated conclusion, it will be clearly proved that the Puṣpapur with which we are concerned here, was the seat of the capital of Agnimitra and that it was another name of Vidiśā. After the end of the Śunga dynasty, Nahapāṇ also selected it as the seat of his capital. After him, the Gardabhils also gave preference to it. When the Śakas invaded Avantī and defeated Gardabhil, they found, as the Vāyupurāṇ tells us, the city quite deserted and evacuated. The people, who thus evacuated Vidiśā, on account of the repression and atrocities of the Śakas either founded a new city in the neighbourhood and named it "Besnagar", or went to and settled in Avantī. Śakāri Vikramāditya's seat of capital was Ujjaini. In short, Vidiśā was the capital of the Mauryas, the Śungas, and of Nahapān. Its another name was Puṣpapur.[48] It is not definitely known where the seat of the capital of the Gardabhils and of the Śakas, was. Probably it was in Vidiśā[49] or it might have been in Ujjaini. Be that as it may, it is certain that one of the cities was destroyed at that time and the other became more prosperous than before. The fact that Vikramāditya made Ujjaini prosperous, leads us to conclude that it was Vidiśā[50] which was destroyed at this time, when the Śakas invaded Avantī and defeated Gandharvasen.

Thus, Vidiśā was founded in 527 B. C. and was destroyed in B. C. 57. It enjoyed prosperity for four and a half centuries.

We have stated above that Puṣpapur is closely associated

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(48) In the text matter of f. n. no. 37 above, we have stated that Puṣpapur was another name of Ujjaini also; but there Puṣpapur is to be taken in its adjectival sense and not as a proper noun.

(49) Read f. n. no. 50 below.

(50) Another thought that comes to mind here is that the Śakas were under the obligation of Kāliksūri and that Vidiśā was a sacred place of the faith to which Kāliksūri belonged. Moreover, the Śakas themselves were followers of Jainism. Hence, it is not likely that they have brought about the destruction of Vidiśā. This leads us to the conclusion that Ujjaini was the seat of the capital of the Gardabhila kings.

with Jainism. Details given below are of more importance to followers of Jainism than they are to others. It is certain, however, that they have also got great historical[51] significance and value. So, we hope, all readers will be interested in the details given below.

Puṣpapur & Jainism

We have stated in the account of Priyadarśin that for the propagation and perpetuation of his faith, he had made many plans and put them into execution. For instance, (1) at places where the Jaina Tīrthankars had attained Nirvāṇ[52] he got erected large rock-inscriptions[53]; (2) at places where his relatives died, he got erected small rock-inscriptions; (3) at places where Mahāvīr underwent hardships he got erected pillar-inscriptions; (4) at places where great monks of the order, with whom he had come into close contact died, he got erected or installed gigantic idols representing them standing in a meditative posture, called "Kāusagga" in Jainism; at several sacred places of Jains he got erected topes and temples, the number of which is legion.[54] Vidiśā is full of

(51) Cf. f. n. no. 61 below.

(52) Some of these rock-inscriptions are not larger in size than others; but theyare of greater importance. Cf. f. n. no. 53 below.

(53) There are five places where the Tīrthaṅkaras attained Nirvāṇ, namely, Sametaśikhar, Aṣṭāpad, Girnār, Champāpurī and Pāvāpurī. (Vide Vol. I, pp. 74, f. n. no. 13 and its meaning). They were known at that time by the names:—"Dhauli-Jagauḍā, Kālsi, Junāgaḍh and Rupnāth. At some of the places the rocks are of a small size; but to show their importance, Priyadarśin has got inscribed his symbol—the elephant—on them. (Vide Vol. II, the account of Priyadarśin). Of the five places mentioned above, the situation of Pāvāpurī has not yet been located. In these pages (vide infra) I have proved that it was situated in the region of Vidiśā, Bhilsā and Sāñchi. If the archeologists while conducting excavations, come upon this rock-inscription by Priyadarśin, with the elephant inscribed on it, the conclusion arrived at by me in the pages above, may be proved to be definitely true. Let us hope, efforts will be made in that direction.

(54) Details about the first four kinds of relics have been given in the account of Priyadarśin in Vol. II. The fifth kind, however, has not been dealt with there. Details about it will be given in the "Life of Priyadarśin" to be published later on by me. The cause is briefly stated here.

the religious relics of the last kind. This proves that it must have been a sacred place of pilgrimage of the Jains. One gigantic Tope is found here. Another of the same proportions and on the same model is found near a small village named Bhārhut, which is situated near the towns named Kaṭni and Sutnā in Nagoda State, which is in the N. E. of Jubbulpore. The region around this village was called Vatsadeś in those times. Scholars have given the name " Bhārhūta Tope " to this Stūpa. These two Stūpas are situated at a distance of about 50 kośas from one another. This is the first thing to be noted.

From the account of the life of Mahāvīr, we learn that twelve years and few months after his ordination, he attained Kaivalya Gñān. The pretty long time previous to this attainment, he had spent in the region of Kauśāmbī, and for the next few months he travelled to various places in its neighbourhood. Three months after the last monsoon, happened the incident of driving nails into his ears and of his receiving a preparation of corn-seeds (Aḍad) after a three day's fast, from a virgin-girl named Chandanbālā. In short, he attained the Kaivalya stage-the most coveted and the highest stage in Jainism-in the region around Kauśāmbī. This is the second thing to be noted.

Again, from the account of the life of Mahāvīr we learn, that immediately after attaining the Kaivalya stage, he preached the gospel according to the new light that had come to him. The sermon, however, was a failure. So that night, he travelled about several miles (it is said 12 yojans)[55] on foot, and reached a city named Apāpānagari. There he converted and ordinated three Gautamas (Indrabhūti and his two brothers) together with other eight learned men with their 4400 pupils. He appointed

(55) 12 yojans means nearly 100 miles; but a yojan and a kos are variously measured in different countries. A doubt may however be raised whether it is possible to traverse 100 miles within a night and whether the Jaina monks are allowed to travel at night. In answer to this it may be stated that after a person has attained the Kaivalya stage, things which seem impossible of achievement to us, are quite easy for them to do. Again a Kaivali is not bound by rules which are obligatory for ordinary monks.

the first eleven as his chief apostles (called "Gaṇadharas" in Jainism.). Thus Apāpā was the place where the appointment of the Gaṇadharas was made. Then, having travelled to many regions, he spent the last monsoon of his life in Apāpā and attained Nirvāṇ there. This is the third thing to be noted.

Avantī is closely associated with Jainism. Numerous topes are found in the region of Vidiśā and Sāñchī. We have seen that they were erected in commemoration of those monks–and austere ones at that,—with whom Priyadarśin had come into close contact. In these numerous Stūpas[56], the family names and other relics of these monks are found preserved in tablets. A study of these family names[57] reveals the fact that they are family names mostly of those monks who succeeded Mahāvīr in the line of Gaṇadharas. On one of the topes is written the word "Mahākaśap". (It is a mistake. It is read Kaśap only.) This Tope is the largest

(56) The following topes, large and small, have been found in the area:—

	Large	Small	
Sānchī	4	10	More than 58.
Satadhār	1	7	
Sonāri	2	8	
Andher	1	3	
Bhojpur	2	20	
	10	48	

(57) Some of the family names are given below:—

In Sāñchī :
Koḍīṇīputra
Goriputra
Mogaliputra
Vāchchhiputra

In Satadhār :
Sāriputas
Mahāmogalitas

In Bhojpur :
Uphitakas

In Sonāri :
Koṭiputas Kāśpagotas
Sapurisus Kośikiputas

Andher :
Vāchchhiputas
Koḍinogotas
Mogalikatas
Gotiput
Haritiput
Asadevas

of all in size and is known by the name "Siddha-kā-sthān".[58] In short, the region, in which these numerous topes are found, containing tablets mentioning the family names of the monks–the Gaṇadhars–who succeeded Mahāvīr, is closely associated with Jainism. This is the fourth thing to be noted.

One of the inscriptions in this region has been erected by Chandragupta, the Mauryan emperor and another has been erected by a Śātakarṇi, king of Āndhra. The former has been erected in commemoration[59] of the grant of forty thousand rupees (dinnārs) to cope with expenses of lighting a series of lamps on the tope. We do not definitely know, which of the Śātakarṇi kings, was responsible for the second[60] inscription referred to above; but history tells us that many kings of that dynasty were followers of Jainism. Chandragupta was a devout Jain and in his latter life, he had renounced the world and had been ordinated.[61] Thus, these inscriptions prove that the topes are connected with Jainism. This is the fifth—and more important than others—thing to be noted.

Chandragupta had grasped the significance of the rows of lamps on a holy place. So, not only did he give a handsome sum of money for that purpose but he got this deed of his inscribed, so that in time to come, his example might be followed by others. Jaina books tell us that when Mahāvīr attained Nirvāṇ, eighteen kings, who were his devout followers, assembled at one place and made arrangements for lighting rows of lamps,[62] (in place of the real lamp–Mahāvīr–having been extinguished–dead)

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(58) For a clear understanding of the whole thing, the reader is requested to go through "The Bhilsā Topes" by Sir Cunningham.

[Note : The family names given here are full of meaning. I have, however, not discussed them in details, because we are not concerned with them here. Those details, however, will be fully given in "The Life of Priyadarśin" to be published by me later on.]

(59) Cf. the text described as the sixth thing to be noted.

(60) We have alluded to both these inscriptions in the account of Chandragupta. (Vide Vol. II). For further details vide "The Bhilsā Topes".

(61) For details, vide the account of Chandragupta in Vol. II.

the expense of which they divided among themselves. This is the sixth thing to be noted.

If the six points stated above, are read in conjunction with one another and if their implications are properly understood, the reader cannot help coming to the conclusion that topes at Vidiśā and Bhārhūt are connected with Jainism. Of these two, Vidiśā is the more important, as is indicated by the presence of numerous topes there. It was the place, in the neighbourhood of which Mahāvīr attained Nirvāṇ, Bhārhūt must have been the place where Mahāvīr attained the Kaivalya stage. The very distance between the two places, is in perfect accord with what is stated in the Jaina books. Moreover, all the conclusions arrived at here, agree perfectly with the incidents that happened in the life of Mahāvīr. These facts also prove that Puṣpapur was another name of Vidiśā.

Let us dwell upon one more point in Mahāvīr's life before we close the chapter. It is generally believed that Mahāvīr attained Nirvāṇ at Madhyama-apāpā, another name of Vidiśā. The original name of the city was Apāpā (i. e. a sinless city). When, however, the death of Mahāvīr took place in it, it ceased to be sinless and people began to call it "Pāpā-purī" (a sinful city), which later on deteriorated into "Pāvāpurī"[63], the name by

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(62) These rows of lamps presented a magnificent sight. It is popularly known by the name "Dipotsāvī". Such has been the origin of this festival.

(63) "Pūrva diśi Pāvāpurī, ruddhe bharire,
Mukti gayā Mahāvīr, Tīratha te namuṁ re."

The phrase "Pūrva diśi Pāvāpurī" is capable of various interpretations.

[1] Pūrva+diśi+Pāvā=the eastern part of Pāvāpurī, (which was inhabited by rich people).

[2] Pūrva+diśi-e+Pāvā=the meaning is almost the same as above; or the author of the couplet—Samayasunder—by name, may have composed it while staying in Avantī; and Pāvāpurī (Vidiśā) being situated to the east of the place where he stayed it is stated diśi-e=in the direction of.

[3] Pūrva+diśi+Apāpā=by the rules of Sandhi, this would be Pūrva diśya pāpa.

[4] Pūrva+diśi-e+Apāpā=the meaning is the same as stated above. The meaning, in short, is that in the eastern (not middle) part of the city, which was inhabited by many rich people, Mahāvīr attained Nirvāṇ.

which it is known at present. The meaning of the term "Madhyama-apāpā" can be:—(1) Apāpā may have had three suburbs–eastern, middle and western; and Mahāvīr may have attained Nirvāṇ in madhyam = middle suburb of the city. These suburbs may have had the names as follows:—Middle suburb was called Besnagar or Vidiśā, the western suburb was called Sāñchī and the eastern one was called Bhilsā. (2) Or, there may have been three cities having the name Apāpā: one in the east; one in the west: and one in the middle of these two. If we accept that the term Apāpā was meant to signify a sinless city, we may conclude that eastern Apāpā was situated near the Bhārhūta Tope, and the western one was none else but Ujjaini, and the middle one somewhere (near Bhilsā) between the two. Probably it was in the forest named Mahasen[64] near Ujjaini that Mahāvīr bestowed the titles of "Gaṇadharahood" over his disciples. That forest was at that time in the kingdom of Chaṇḍapradyota, whose another name was Mahasen. We have, however, in Jaina literature, a famous couplet (f. n. no. 63 above) which definitely tells us that Mahāvīr attained Nirvāṇ in the eastern suburb. This means that we shall have to discard one of the two conclusions–either Mahāvīr attained Nirvāṇ in eastern Apāpā or in middle Apāpā. If we, however, accept the latter of the two meanings of Madhyam–apāpā, (stated above), we can reconcile both the views and can say that Mahāvīr attained Nirvāṇ in the eastern suburb of Vidiśā, another name of which was Madhyama-apāpā; because it was situated in the middle of the two–the one of eastern Apāpā (a city near Bhārhut) and the other of western Apāpā–Ujjain. We shall, now, have to institute a change in the time of the founding of Vidiśā. We stated above that it was founded shortly after B. C. 527. Now

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Vol. I, pp. 183, f. n. no. 108; there I have given an alternative reading, "Pūrva Vidiśi Pāvāpurī". Even, then, however the meaning remains the same.

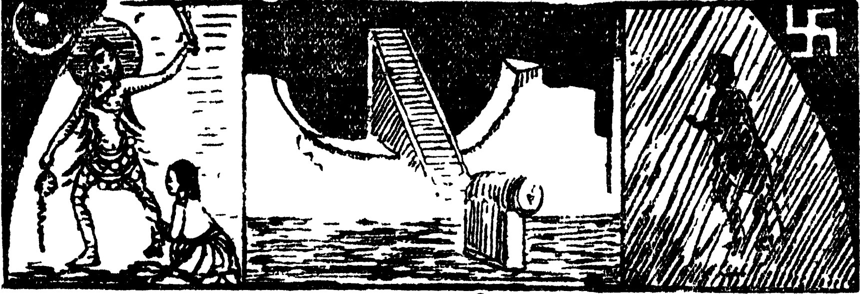
(64) Another name of Ujjaini is Vaiśālī. (Vide Vol. I, pp. 180, also read "Jainkāl-gaṇanā" by Muniśrī Kalyāṇvijayaji, V. E. 1987, pp. 31, f. n. no. 28). It is stated there:—"King Pālak came to the throne of Avantī in the 20th year after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr." That shows that the place had connections with Mahāvīr.

we shall have to agree that it must have been much earlier and that by 527 B. C. it was a flourishing city[65].

[Note:—I have given above my conclusions about the places where Mahāvīr attained the Kaivalya stage and Nirvāṇ. These conclusions are the results of a chain of reasoning based upon certain facts and upon probings into Jaina and other literatures. It is not my plea, however, that they be accepted as gospel truth by all. I invite criticisms and opinions from scholars, hoping that such healthy and active interest on their part, will contribute not a little in throwing the blazing light of absolute truth upon these matters].

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(65) Cf. f. n. nos. 53 and 63 above.



Chapter III

Gardabhila Dynasty (Cond.)

Synopsis:—*An account of the life of king Sanku; discussion as to whether he died a natural death or whether he was murdered.*

Various names of Śakāri Vikramāditya—His birth, family and the duration of his life—Causes of the founding of the Vikrama era—Various theories held by scholars in connection with it—Some details about the seat of his capital—The revival of the observatory by him and the coins minted by him—The extent of his kingdom—Discussion about his religion—Cessation of the use of the Vikrama era for a time and its reasons—His career as a politician and his moral traits—A short account of his brother Bhartṛhari, who worked as the head of the state for some time.

(3) Mādhavāditya (4) Dharmāditya and (5) Vikrama-charitra or Mādhavasen—Five noteworthy events that took place during their times—The territorial extent of the kingdom of Vikrama-charitra.

(6 to 10) Details about those last five kings—The end of the Gardabhila dynasty—The beginning of the rule of the Kuṣāna dynasty; some novel details about it.

ŚANKU

It is not known what name he assumed after coming to the throne. He was the eldest son of Gandharvasen and so he came to the throne after him. His reign, however, ended within a very short time. He was succeeded by his brother, Vīr Vikramāditya. Śanku ruled for six months from B. C. 64 to B. C. 63.

The dynastic lists of the Gardabhila kings, do not contain any mention of Śanku. In chap. I we have stated[1] the circumstances under which his name had to be inserted. The fact that his reign ended after a period of six months, raises a doubt in our minds about the kind of death he met with. Was he murdered? If so, who murdered him? Naturally, one is prone to doubt his successor, because none else would have so much interest in murdering him. Had Vikramāditya however perpetrated this crime, some books and some other sources must have contained some references to it, however mighty and powerful he may have been. But all literature[2] and other sources of information are uniformly silent on this point. Hence, we conclude that Vikramāditya never committed such heinous crime and that Śanku must have died a natural death. These details lead us to one of the following two conclusions:—(1) When the Śaka rule ended, the eldest son of Gandharvasen—irrespective of the consideration whether he was the fittest of all or not–was anointed on the throne. Vikramāditya, though the bravest of all brothers, consented to this procedure out of respect and affection for his elder brother. (2) Or, Śanku must have played a prominent part in defeating the Śakas and hence he ascended the throne by his own valour. But if it had been so, the title "Śakāri" would have been appended to his name instead of being appended to that of Vikramāditya. So, the first of the two conclusions is more plausible and acceptable than the second.

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(1) Pp. 332, f. n. no. 9, read there extracts quoted from H. H. pp. 638 and 649.

(2) Even the writer, who has advanced the theory that Śanku came to the throne, is silent on this point (f. n. no. 1). This shows that Vikramāditya was a man of stainless character.

It is also probable that Śanku might have reached old age by the time of his succession and that Vikramāditya conducted the administration for him. He must have ascended the throne after the death of his brother. This adds one more to the already long list of Vikramāditya's admirable traits of character.

(2) ŚAKĀRI GARDABHIL; VIKRAMĀDITYA[3]; or VIKRAMASINH or VIKRAMASEN.

His names

The name " Vikramāditya " is spoken in every corner of India. Merchants begin their new ledgers with his auspicious name. This Vikramāditya was a powerful and brave king. He was the son of Gandharvasen, the founder of the Gardabhila dynasty. He extirpated the Śakas and assumed the well-earned title "Śakāri"[4]. The people of Avantī had the hell of a time under the wicked rule of the Śakas. No doubt, they hailed their liberator with uncommon glea[5] and always cherished his name with deepest

(3) In C. H. I. pp. 533, the meaning of the word is given as follows:— Vikram=Might; Āditya=Sun. So Vikramāditya=The Sun of the Might.

The same meaning is given in N. Pr. Patrikā, Vol. X, part IV, pp. 72, f. n. no. 44, by Muniśrī Kalyāṇvijayaji. He further states, however, that the author of Pariśiṣṭh Parva has fixed 60 years for the rule of Balamitra and Bhānumitra, the two Śunga kings. (Vide Vol. I, pp. 195, f. n. no. 33. Read the verses there). Then, from this, he concludes that Gardabhila Vikramāditya was none else but Balamitra, the Śunga king. He states in support of this that the reign of Vikramāditya also lasted for 60 years. [Note : For facts about this vide pp. 63 to 65 and footnotes there. Note especially the details given on pp. 64, f. n. no. 7.]

(4) The title "Śakāri" can be applied to this Vikramāditya only. This matter is fully discussed in the next part.

(5) The Śakas, no doubt, perpetrated the most horrible atrocities. As a matter of fact, however, right from the death of Priyadarśin to the accession of Śakari Vikramāditya, the law "Might is right" was supreme. Vikramāditya, established the rule of moral law and justice, and gave long-lasting happiness to his subjects. So, the people, out of deepest gratitude started the era in his name.

After the death of Priyadarśin, the reigns of almost all kings lasted on the average from 5 to 6 years. The next 5 Mauryan kings (after Priyadarśin) ruled for 29 years in the aggregate. For the next 90 years, 10 Śunga kings

admiration, love and respect. In order to commemorate his name they started an era[6] in his name with the date[7] on which he released them from the vicious clutches of the Śakas.

He has got two or three other names over and above Śakāri[8]. One of such names is Vikramasen[9], while the other is Vikramasinh. He has also been called Śudrak, in connection with which a writer[10] states:—" This Sudraka may be said to have founded the Vikrama Era in B. C. 58 by defeating the Sakas of Malwa[11]. Tradition is strong in asserting that Vikramaditya[12] defeated alien Śakas near Karur and established his era."

came in succession to the throne. Then, as an exception, Nahapāṇ's rule lasted for 40 years. For next ten years ruled the Gardabhila king. Then, 5 Śaka kings ruled for 7 years in the aggregate. Thus in the 174 years after the death of Priyadarśin, 24 kings ascended the throne of Avantī. During all these years, the minds of the people knew little peace and stability. The Śungas were greedy and cruel, and their religious fanaticism was the cause of much oppression inflicted by them upon the people. During their rule, numerous foreign invasions took place resulting in bloody battles and a heavy toll of life and property. It was only during Nahapāṇ's rule that people could heave a sigh of relief. Most of his time, however, was spent in consolidating his power and in fighting against elements which obstructed the way to peace and happiness.

(6) Many things remain to be found out about the era. Scholars hold the opinion that Vikramāditya was not the founder of the era and that his time was quite different. This question is discussed in details in the chapters on eras.

(7) Details about the date are given in the next part.

(8-9) Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 122.

(10) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 64:—"From Amarkosha we learn that Sudraka, Hala and other kings had the title of Vikramaditya". [Note : The comma inserted between Śudrak and Hala should be dropped. Then we would have the correct reading. The extract means to say that Śudrak was another name of Vikramāditya. It does not specify however, whether this Vikramāditya was the same as Vikramāditya Śakāri or not. In ancient India there were many kings having the name Vikram. The question is discussed in details in the next Part.]

(11) The term "Mālvā" had not come into existence by that time. The writer seems to have put it as an anachronism.

(12) No doubt, things stated in books like Amarakoś are trustworthy. But one Vikramāditya is confused with another. A note on these confusions is given in the next Part.

He was the son of king Gandharvasen or Gadhrupa[13] Gardabhīl. Gardabhīl was at first the ruler of the region around Cambay. It is not known whether he had any further territory in his power. He married the daughter of the king of Dhār and she gave birth to a son in Cambay. The name of this son was Vikramāditya, who later on assumed the well-earned title Śakāri.[14] Perhaps Gandharvasen had a larger kingdom in his power than is known at present. It is not known how many sons he had; but at least we know this much, that Vikramāditya had an elder brother named Śanku and a younger brother named Bhartṛhari alias Śukrāditya.[15] Of these two, the account of Śanku has already been given, while details about Bhartṛhari will be given later on.[16]

His birth, his family and the duration of his life

The name of Vikramāditya's mother is not known. Nor is it known how many queens he had. The story of Bhartṛhari is well known to all as a historical fact and is the favourite subject on the stage. He had a queen named Pingalā whom he loved more than his llfe and who proved faithless to him—being a woman of very low character. When Bhartṛhari came to know the state of affairs, he renounced the world and became an ascetic. We have stated in the account of the Śungas as well as in that of Gandharvasen that they were all vicious in character. The people under their rule also had become degenerate. Pingalā is a good instance of this.

No details are available as regards the number of Vikramāditya's issues. The son who succeeded him was Mādhavasen by name.

In the same way the exact number of years for which he lived upon this earth is also not known. The fact, however, that

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(13) "The Bhilsa Topes", pp. 142:—"It is said in Agni-Purana (Princeps Journal, IV, 688) that Vikrama the son of Gadhrupa should ascend the throne of Malwa".

(14) Vide the account of Gandharvasen.

(15) Vide Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 122.

(16) As one of the contemporary king in the line; cf. f. n. no. 2 above.

he extirpated a powerful race like that of the Śakas, points to the conclusion that by the time he came to the throne, his age must have been at least 25 to 30. Then, it is definitely known that he ruled for 60 years. Naturally, he must have lived upto, at least 85 to 90 years. It is stated in J. A. S. B. Vol. 49, Part I, " The first Vikramaditya is mentioned in the Kumarchhanda in which it is declared that after 3020 years of Kaliyuga had elapsed then would Vikramaditya appear. " The extract probably means that Vikramāditya was born in 3101[17]—3020 = B. C. 81. The Vikrama era, as we know, was begun in B. C. 57[18]. That means that, by the time he came to the throne, he was 81 - 57 = 24 years old.

His time and his era.

Ariṣṭakarṇa, the Āndhra king of the Śātavāhana dynasty, had, as we know, given shelter to the sons of king Gardabhīl, when he was defeated by the Śakas. Ariṣṭakarṇa's successor, Hāl by name, was a very powerful and brave king. He composed a book named " Gāthāsaptaśati " which has been, and is, ranked as a classic by scholars. In the introduction to that book, King Hāl, has alluded to Vikramāditya.[19] This shows that Vikramāditya either lived before the time of Hāl or was his contemporary. At least

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(17) It is believed that the Kali Age began in B. C. 3101. (Vide P. K.; also "Ancient Eras" by Cunningham. Vide also vol. I, pp. 93).

(18) C. H. I. pp. 155; according to Prof. Carpentier, the Vikrama era began in B. C. 58; while according to Sir Cunningham, it was begun in B. C. 56½; vide also "Asiatic Researches", Vol. IX, pp. 145 and further.

[Note : Really speaking, the difference between the opinions of these two scholars reduced itself to the matter of a year only, because, even if a short time has elapsed after the completion of 56, we call it 57, and the same thing happens in the case of 58. I think this is the correct thing to be stated about them.]

(19) Vide Vol. IV, his account. The extract from "Amarkośa" quoted in f. n. no. 10 also helps us to understand that Vikramāditya was the name of king Hāl also. Thus, the name of the author of Gāthāsaptaśati was Vikramāditya (i. e. another name of king Hāl). So, also was the name of the king referred to, in its introduction, Vikramāditya (i.e. Śakāri of the Gardabhīla dynasty).

he must have been senior in age and a man of parts; or else, a powerful and brave king like Hāl would not have taken the trouble to mention his name in his book. Jaina books tell us that three great Jaina high priests, Pādalipta, Nāgārjun and Ārya-khapuṭ by name, were contemporaries of Vikramāditya and that both Hāl and Vikramāditya performed certain religious ceremonies on the Śatrunjay hill[20] under the guidance of these three priests. This means that all the five were contemporaries. It is believed, however, that the time of these three Āchāryas was M. E. 470–484. Scholars also believe that Hāl lived about A. D. 70[21]. In the next Volume, however, we shall prove that their time was not in A. D. but in B. C. As stated in f. n. no. 19 below, both the kings were called "Vikramāditya." Now let us turn to his era.

Commonly, an era is to be started in the year in which a memorable event has taken place. And naturally, it is very seldom that the accession of king and the occurrence of the event may coincide. So, the era[22] is generally calculated from the year in which that particular king's reign began.

(20) On one occasion, temples on Mt. Śatrunjay were repaired. On another occasion, a flag with a staff was hoisted on the temple there. In the work of reparations, substantial help was rendered by Śeth Jāvaḍśāh, a native of Madhuvantī (Mahuvā) in Kāthiāwār. He had gone to Arabia for trade purposes and had amassed a vast fortune.

(21) In E. H. I. 3rd edi. his time is stated to have been A. D. 68. This time has been fixed up by the author in correspondence to A. D. 78, the time of the Śātakarṇi king, who started the Śaka era. Out of the 30 kings of the Śātavāhana dynasty, the time of not a single king has been as yet definitely fixed. So, the time stated above cannot be taken as absolutely reliable.

In Vol. IV, we have shown that king Hāl ruled from B. C. 47 to A. D. 18= 65 years.

In Nā. Pr. Patrikā, Vol. X, part IV, pp. 736, there is an allusion to king Hāl, the author of Gāthā-saptaśati. In f. n. no. 107 on the same page, it is stated:—"A verse in praise of Vikramaditya is found in Saptasati", (Vide also the account of Hāl in Vol. IV. Read especially the details stated in connection with the poet Guṇāḍhya).

(22) An era started in commemoration of a religious event or belief is

In this connection, Mr. Rapson[23] rightly observes:—"The foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power[24] rather than its first beginning or the downfall of any." Or sometimes a king, out of respect for his predecessors, dates the era from the year in which one of their's reign began.[25]

We have ample historical instances at hand of both the systems. A learned writer[26] observes in connection with the inception of the Vikrama era:—" 135 years before the Śaka era and 470 years after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr, a new era was founded. This is universally accepted. Merutunga's statement that there was an interval of 470 years between the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr and the inception of the Vikrama era, is quite correct. It is immaterial whether the era was founded by him or by any other." If we read this extract in conjunction with the list given on pp. 332; we shall find that 470 years after the Nirvāṇ, Vikramāditya has ascended the throne. So, it was in that year that the dating of the era was begun. The statement that the era was started in the 17th year of Vikrama's reign (pp. 330, f. n. no. 3 above) cannot be accepted as true.[27] Neither can it be accepted

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dated from the occurrence of the same. An era, however, started in connection with political details is dated in other ways and manners. (Cf. f. n. nos. 24 and 25 below).

(23) Vide C. A. R. Intro. pp. 162, para 135.

(24) The foundation of the Kuśāna dynasty is an instance in point. It is considered to have begun from the year of the rule of the third king. The Śaka era is dated from the time of the king who flourished very long, after the beginning of the Śātavāhana dynasty. The same is the case with the Vikrama era, which is dated from the year of the rule of the third king of the dynasty.

(25) For instance, though the Chaṣṭhaṇa era was founded by the second Chaṣṭhaṇa king, the era has been dated from the year of the rule of his father, Ghṣamotik, the first Chaṣṭhaṇa king. The Gupta era was founded by the third king in the line; yet it has been dated from the year of the rule of the first king. The founding of the Trikuṭaka era is also an instance of the same kind. (Chap. XI).

(26) Vide Nā. Pr., Patrikā, Vol. X, part IV, pp. 737.

(27) Thus two opinions prevail about the dating of the Vikrama era.

that the era was dated with the year in which the rule of the Gardabhila dynasty began.[28] (A. M. 453). The people of Avantī had started the era in commemoration of the year in which Vikramāditya liberated them from the inhumanly cruel rule of the Śakas[29].

We have proved in the last paragraphs of the preceding chapter that, not Vidiśā, but Ujjaini was the seat of the capital of Vikramāditya. Thus Ujjaini was not only one of the sacred places of Jains but it was also the seat of the capital of a powerful empire. A third cause also contributed to its greatness.

The seat of his capital, the observatory and the dating of the era.

It is quite probable that Ujjaini was selected by astronomers in those times as the proper place for an observatory.[30] Vikramāditya, over and above being a brave king, was also very fond of learning in all its aspects. Numerous legends[31] about his shrewdness and adroitness under all vicissitudes of life, are prevalent to day in most parts of India. In most of the legends he is represented as having acquired mastery over certain supernatural elements and also as fighting bravely against the evil forces of nature, like ghosts and devils.

According to some scholars it dates from 453 and according to others, from 470; many confusions and mistakes prevailed on account of this difference of opinions. Some instances of these errors will be given in the next part.

(28) In reference to this it is stated in Nā. Pr. Patrikā, Vol. X, part IV, pp. 730:—"Vikrama Rajjāṇantara terasa vāsesu vachchhara pavitā" (in the 13th year of Vikrama's reign). He started the era in that year (pp. 728). The author has not stated from where he has quoted the verse; but he merely states that he found it on some stray ancient pages found in the library of Śeth Ambālāl Nānābhāi of Baroda.

(29) Cf. f. n. no. 27 above.

(30) It worked on the lines of Greenwich.

(31) Some of the most popular legends are "Suḍābohoteri" (a collection of 72 stories of parrots), "Maḍāpachchisi" (a collection of 25 stories of corpses), "Batris Putali" (a collection of 32 stories of wooden idols).

If it is definitely proved that the observatory[32] was founded in Ujjaini in his time, we shall have to agree that an important and far-reaching change in the calculation of time was also effected in his time. Upto that time, every month ended on the full-moon day. Thenceforth, astronomical observations made the scholars decide, that in conformity with the movements of the moon, it was proper that the months should end on the last day of the dark half of every month.[33] In proof of this, it may be noted that in the Vikrama era, every month ends according to the new system[34]; while in the Mahāvīra era, which was started much before this time, every month ended on the full-moon day. Of course, in some inscriptions dating much later than the founding of the Vikrama era, the mention of time is found in accordance with the change in seasons; but these can be counted as specific instances. This problem deserves detailed discussion; but as we are not concerned with it here, we shall have to postpone the discussion for some other time. It may be noted in this connection, however, that in the cases in which doubts are raised, about fixing the dates of events, a knowledge of these two ways of calculating time, would go a great way in dispelling them. Experts in this prolem should go into details and arrive at definite conclusions once for all. Their decisions

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(32) Vide the account of Emperor Priyadarśin. Vol. II, pp. 311, f. n. no. 87.

(33) A. E. pp. 31:—"In Western India, Kartika, beginning Thursday, Sept. 18th B. C. 57. In Northern India, Purnimanta begins with full-moon Chaitra, making epoch Sunday, February 23rd B. C. 57 or Kaliyuga 3044 expired".

(Vide also Bhā. Prā. Rāj. Vol. II, pp. 390 and read further in this Vol.). In short the era began six months earlier in northern India than it did in western India.

This proves that the kingdom of Vikramāditya included western India and also that it did not include northern provinces like United Provinces, the Punjab and Kāśmir.

(34) In the "Purṇimānta" system, the new month begins on the first day of the dark half; while in the "Amāsānta" system, it beings on the first day of the bright half. Some details about these systems will be given in the succeeding part.

would be of great value to all historical questions about fixing times of many an event.

His coins

It is highly improbable that a powerful king like Vikramāditya would not have struck any coins. But, strange as it certainly is, as yet no coins of this king have been found out; while coins of many inferior kings have been found in large numbers. Moreover, Vikramāditya's rule lasted for 60 years, while these kings ruled for a much shorter period. Again, the coins of his immediate predecessors (i. e. those who ruled before B. C. 57) and of his immediate successors (i. e. those who ruled Avantī after A. D. 4) have also been found out. These facts lead us to the conclusion that the coins of Vikramāditya, though they are extant to day, have not yet been recognized. Reasons for this are not difficult to understand. In the first place, ancient Indian kings never got their portrait-heads or names embossed on their coins. In very ancient times, only the religious symbol was embossed[35]. Later on, if coins were struck in commemoration of any event, a symbol representing the significance of that event[36] was embossed on those coins. That continued for a short time. As time passed on, and as the Indian kings began to come into close association with foreigners, their respect for their family and for their religion was replaced by more self-centredness about their ownselves. So, they introduced in their coins symbols[37] which distinguished them from other kings. Yet, no king ever got either his portrait-head[38] or his year[39] embossed on the coins. These reasons and

(35) A large " Serpent " is found on the coins of the Śiśunāgaa dynasty and a small " Serpent " is found on the coins of Nanda dynasty. (Vol. II Coins nos. 44 to 46). They bear the religious signs also. The Coins of the kings of Kauśāmbī (Vatsadeś) are of the same type (Coins nos. 23-24-26).

(36) On the coins of Mahānand we find a " Female elephant " with a " pitcher ". This symbol commemorates the circumstances under which he came to the throne. (Coins nos. 29-30).

(37) Thus, on the coins of Priyadarśin we find the " Elephant "—the symbol which he had selected for himself. (Coins nos. 21, 22, 33, 34 etc.)

(38) The first Indian king to get his portrait-head and his date embossed

many others make it quite probable that the coins of Vikramāditya have yet to be recognized. In connection with this, I suppose—and I want to make it clear, that it should be taken as a supposition only—that the coins which bear the Moon and the Svastika[40] over and above the observatory Symbol of Ujjainī, are his.

[Note:—This supposition is stated in the chapters on coins in Vol. II. My research work made me think that the coins known by the name "Gadhaiyā"[41] belonged to the Gardabhīla dynasty. These coins have a donkey-like animal on one side and the Ujjain symbol on the other. The animal suggests that the coins belong to the Gardabhīla dynasty and the Ujjain symbol suggests the foundation of the observatory.[42]]

Here again, no definite details are available about the territorial extent of Vikramāditya. Neither the Vedic, nor Buddhist nor Jaina sources contain any information on this point. In Rājtaraṅgiṇi, a historical treatise on Kāśmir, an allusion is made about this[43] which we shall note below.

Nahapāṇ's kingdom included within it Mathurā, Sūrsen and Pāñchāl. With the exception of the Punjab and Kāśmir, his sway extended practically over the whole of northern India. In south, the Āndhra kings were supreme. As regards the east, since the time of the change of the seat of capital to Avantī, much political importance was not attached to it. Stray events,

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on his coins, was Nahapāṇ. We should remember, however, that he was a foreigner. We are concerned here with those Indian kings, who were sons of the soil.

(39) Read f. n. no. 38 above.

(40) Coin-experts call this sign the "Moon"; but according to Jaina literature, it is called "Siddhaśilā or Nirvāṇ" (i. e. absolute salvation from the fetters of this world). The same stage is called "Parinirvāṇ" in Buddhism. (Vide Vol. II pp. 8).

Cf. details about "The Sun and the Moon" (C. A. R. pp. 113, Para 92; Vol. II, fig. no. 42, pp. 92; f. n. 54 on pp. 52).

(41) Vide pp. 338 and read f. n. nos. 32-33; Coins Nos. 38, 39, 82, and 83.

(42) Read the details given about the observatory in the foregoing pages.

(43) J. R. A. S. Vol. XII, pp. 14. An extract from that is quoted in Part VIII.

however, give us reason to believe that, that portion also was under the power of the emperors of Avantī. There may have been vassal kings ruling over it. The whole of western India, including Sind, Saurāṣṭra, Konkan strip and the region upto Western Ghat formed an integral part of the kingdom of Nahapāṇ. After his death, while the Gardabhīls and then the Śakas were rulers of Avantī, some of these provinces must have been wrested from them.[44] So, when Vikramāditya came to the throne of Avantī, only that much territory which was under the power of Śakas came under his rule. The whole of Saurāṣṭra including the region to the west of the Arvallī Hills was under the powerful rule of the Indo-Scythian king Ṛṣabhadatta. So Vikramāditya had to wage a war in order to bring it under his control. That war took place between 57 B. C., the year of his accession to the throne, and 47 B. C., the year of the death of Ariṣṭakarṇa, the Śātakarṇi king. The battle was fought on the plains of Saurāṣṭra. Vikramāditya and the Āndhra king extirpated[45] the Śakas including Indo-Scythians and the Kṣaharāṭas. In commemoration of their victory, they performed certain religious ceremonies[46] in that province. Thus Vikramāditya brought under his power an important and large portion of western India. In the south, there was the rule of the Āndhras, with whom he maintained cordial relations because they had been very helpful to him in securing the throne lost by his father. This means that he fought two major battles against the Śakas. As a result of the first, he secured the throne lost by his father and as a result of the second, he became master of Saurāṣṭra in which was situated the Śatrunjaya Hill, a sacred place of the religion of which he was a devoted adherent.

The territorial extent of Vikramāditya's kingdom

Now, let us turn to the allusion contained in Rājtaraṅgiṇi. It is a historical treatise on Kāśmir and is respected as such because the author has composed it, after a deep study of all

(44) Vide the account of Ṛṣabhadatta.
(45) Cf. the rock-inscription (at Nāsik) of Queen Balaśrī.
(46) Read the paragraph about his religion.

materials available to him. It is stated in it that a king named Vikramāditya conquered Kāśmir, and appointed his minister Mantrigupta as governor over it. Now, what we have to find out is, to which dynasty did this Vikramāditya, belong ? To which of the kings bearing this name does it refer ? If we believe that the conqueror was Śakāri Vikramāditya, we shall have to face one great difficulty and that is that Kāśmir must have been conquered by him some time during his rule from B. C. 57 to A. D. 4; and that before conquering Kāśmir, he must have conquered the Punjab also, which lies on the way to it. The account of all the five Pārthian kings from Aziz to Goṇḍofarnes plainly tells us, on the other hand that, all the region including the Punjab and Mathurā was under their power right from B. C. 85 to A. D. 45[47]. So, Vikramāditya Śakāri has to be ruled out. Again, the method of calculating time prevalent in those provinces in those times, also makes it clear that they must not have been under the power of Vikramāditya.[48] Secondly, if we accept that Mantrigupta was a minister of some king of the Gupta dynasty, we might conclude that the conqueror of Kāśmir, as referred to by the author of the Rājtaraṅgiṇi was Chandragupta II, the patron of the famous poet Kālidās. Here again, a difficulty presented itself; in A. D. 45, the Indo-Pārthian king Goṇḍofarnes left India for good and occupied the Persian throne. Now, it must be found out under whose power these two provinces-the Punjab and Kāśmir,—were, from that time to the time of conquest over them by the Gupta king. History tells us that the Guptas wrested them from the Kuśāns. The power of Kuśāns, however, must have been established over them, not before at least the end of the first century A. D. (A. D. 78 according to scholars), when the Kuśāna chief, Kaniṣka by name, conquered the provinces of northern India and founded his era, Then the question remains; who ruled over them from A. D. 45 to A. D. 78. No information is available on this point. Hence Chandragupta also had to be

(47) Read the dynastic list on pp. 79.

(48) Read f. n. no, 33 above,

ruled out. All these considerations lead us to one thing, namely, Mantrigupta must have been appointed as governor by some powerful king who ruled from A. D. 45 to A. D. 78. Only Vikramacharitra, the grandson of Vikramāditya, could have done it during that time. His rule was during the time mentioned above, and it lasted for a long time. Thus Vikrama, mentioned in the Rājtaraṅgiṇi was none other than Vikramacharitra. This conclusion is arrived at by us, after a careful consideration of all facts and eventualities. It is also lent support by an extract from H. H. pp. 649, which is quoted on pp. 336 and by matter stated in f. n. 19 on pp. 335. We learn from it that a legend was prevalent in North-West Provinces (The Punjab and Kāśmir) about a Gardabhīla king[49]; we also learn from it that it was "a strange tale"[50] because it was nothing but a twisted form of the real story, as his seat of capital was far away from those provinces. In short, Kāśmir came under the rule of the Gardabhīla kings and that king was Vikramacharitra and not his grandfather Vikramāditya.

The details of the territorial extent, given above, will make it clear to the reader that Vikramāditya was not the suzerain of a mighty empire and that many kings, with territories much wider than his, ruled in India. In spite of this, no era was started by the subjects of any of those kings. The fact, therefore, that an era was started by his own subjects in commemoration of Vikramāditya's name, proves conclusively that he was reverently loved by them.

His religion

No evidence based on rock-inscription is available as regards the religion that he followed. Evidence based on coins and literary sources, however, tells us that no king of the dynasty ever followed either Buddhism or the Vedic religion. Thus, by the simple process of elimination, do we establish the fact that they were all Jains.

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(49) No doubt, the marriage of a donkey with a woman, may appear strange. They would not have called it strange, had they known that the term "Gardabha" meant a king of the Gardabhīla dynasty.

(50) Read f. n. no. 49 above.

It is not yet definitely proved that the coins bearing the symbols "Moon" (◡) and the "Swastika" (卐) were minted by them. If it is proved so, some time in future, these symbols[51] also strengthen our conclusion that they were Jains.

Moreover, the Āndhra kings rendered help to Vikramāditya in securing the lost throne. They also made an alliance with him for the purpose of fighting against other powers. In commemoration and celebration of their victories they performed certain religious ceremonies on Mount Śatrunjay—the most sacred place of the Jains[52]. It was at the instance of Kāliksūri that Gandharvasen's life was spared[53] by the Śaka chief. The coins of Āndhra kings prove indisputably that they were Jains.[54] A consideration of all these facts leads us to the conclusion that Vikramāditya and all other kings of his dynasty were Jains.

Not only do pieces of evidence based on ancient sources prove the fact of their having been Jains, but research students of our own times also support it. Dr. Bhāu Dāji says[55]:—"I believe that the era (Vikrama) was introduced by the Buddhist or rather Jains". Another scholar says[56]:—"Vikrama Samvat is used by the Jains only and was first adopted by the kings of Anahilpattan in Gujarat."[57] The same scholar says elsewhere[58]:—"In whose

(51) Vide Vol. II for details about these symbols.

(52) Vide pp. 377 above, and the descriptions of rulers nos. 3, 4 & 5.

(53) Four years after this defeat he died in some unknown place. (Pp. 332, f. n. no. 7 and pp. 341, f. n. no. 47).

(54) Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was the 17th Āndhra king. All these 17 kings, with the exception of some four, who were attracted towards the Vedic fold on account of the influence of Patañjali, the grammarian, were followers of Jainism. The successors of Gautamīputra Śātakaraṇi, however, were all followers of the Vedic faith.

(55) Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, pp. 233.

(56) Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, pp. 145.

(57) The era was in use, long before this time. Later on it had fallen into disuse. These kings then revived it.

The era had fallen into disuse due to several reasons. (1) The Gardabhīla dynasty's rule lasted for 200 years only. (2) Then the Chaṣṭhaṇa kṣatraps

(Vikramaditya's) time[59] the great temple of Shri Mahavira[60]

ruled over Avantī upto A. D. 319. They had founded their own era, and naturally, the Vikrama era was supplanted. (3) The next rulers of Avantī were the Guptas. They had also started their own era. (4) The Guptas were succeeded by the Parmāra kṣatriyas. They changed the name of Avantī, and began to call it Mālvā. Then they started the Mālava era. (Scholars are of the opinion that the Mālavā era is nothing but another name of the Vikrama era. Details given in the next chapter will make it clear that they are mistaken in holding that opinion). Thus the three dynasties which succeeded the Gardabhīls had each their own eras. Naturally the Vikrama era had little scope for being continued. When later on, however, the Muslim invasions over India became frequent and more dangerous, the ideal of Hinduism and Hindu unity began to take more and more concrete shape. As a result of this, the Vikrama era was enthusiastically revived because it was Vikrama who had driven away the demon-like Śakas (foreigners, non-Hindus) from India.

Some time before this, the Chāvḍā dynasty ruled over Gujarat. The kings of this dynasty were Jains. (Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, pp. 145). The Vikrama era was current during their rule. The next rulers of Gujarat were the Chaulukyas. The founder of the dynasty was Mūlrāj,—a descendant of the Chaulukya family of the south. He was a follower of the Vedic religion (Though this is, by no means, as yet definitely proved. His descent is not also clearly found out). His four successors—Chāmuṇḍ, Vallabhsen, Durlabhsen and Bhīmdev—have been believed to have been the followers of the same faith (?). The next in the line is Karṇadev alias Trailokyamal. He married Mayaṇallādevī, the sister of king Jayakeśī, the Kadamba king of Gokarṇapurī (Goā). After this marriage, Karṇadev gave up the religion followed by his predecessors, in favour of the faith which the queen followed. Hence, though Siddharāj—the son of Karṇadev—was outwardly the adherent of the Vedic faith, yet his attitude towards Jainism was sympathetic and tolerant. His successor, Kumārpāl, was a staunch follower of Jainism and had made it almost the state religion.

(58) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, pp. 149.

(59) The fact that a Jaina temple was built during Vikramāditya's time may not be taken as definitely establishing that he was a follower of Jainism. Other facts, however, and a knowledge of the general conditions prevailing in those times, in conjunction with this incident—small as it looks—point rather convincingly that way. For instance, in those times, the Vedic religion was in decline. It had its palmy days during the rule of the Śungas from B. C. 204 to 114. Then its rapid decline began. It was again revived 135 years after the time of Vikramāditya. So during the interval between B. C. 114 and A. D. 78=for about two centuries Jainism was the most prevalent religion in India. (Read f. n. nos. 60, 62 and 63 below).

named Yaksa-vasati was built on the top (horn) of Suvarṇagiri[61] near Jalaurapara[62], by a merchant[63] of 99 lacs wealth "[64].

The details stated above leave no doubt about the fact that Vikramāditya and all other kings of the Gardabhīla dynasty were within the Jaina fold. These details are based on the evidence of coins and of literary sources. Customarily the question of religion followed by a dynasty is discussed at the end of a chapter. I have however deviated from the rule, because I was afraid, that proofs, given in connection with it, would lose their force if they were given separately, instead of conjointly as they are given here.

Of all the kings that ruled in India during the last two thousand years, Vikramāditya holds the best place in the hearts of Indians at present. Whenever the people found in a king, all the traits that go to make an ideal king,[65] they invested him with the honoured title " Vikramāditya "[66]. Hence we conclude that such title was appended to a king's name after his rule was over and that it was not assumed by the king

Vikramāditya, as a statesman and as a man of character

(60) The idol of Mahāvīr was installed in that temple. This proves that the person who got it erected was a Jain. (Cf. f. n. no. 59 above).

(61) Muniśrī Kalyāṇvijayaji holds the opinion that Mt. Suvarṇagiri was situated near Deesā Camp and Bhilaḍiyāji in Gujarat. ("Jaina Yuga" V. S. 1985).

(62) This town has got several names, viz. Jālaurnagar, Jālorpurī, Jālar etc. It is believed to be one of the ancient and holy centres of the Jains. Muniśrī Kalyāṇvijayaji has written an article on it. ("Jain", the Silver Jubilee number, pp, 41 to 55).

(63) The person who got the temple erected was a merchant; but the fact that it was built during the reign of and in the territory of a certain king, shows that the king in question was at least sympathetically inclined towards Jainism. (Cf. f. n. no. 59, 60, 62).

(64) This is an index to the prosperity of the people in those times.

(65) Cf. f. n. no. 66 and 67.

(66) This custom was discontinued after the rule of the Muslims was established over India.

himself, but that the people conferred it on him[67] in appreciation of his many noble qualities.

Vikramāditya had in him all qualities of an ideal king. There is no exaggeration in saying so. The king and his subjects were bound faithfully and unflinchingly with each other with the deepest ties of love and understanding. The king's honesty of purpose was unimpeachable and the loyalty of the subjects was no less absolute. Vikramāditya's policy was beyond reproach. People were happy and prosperous. Life was a perpetual hum of contentment and healthy activities in all the branches. Merchants merrily plied their trade, workmen sang joyfully while hard at work, and artists and artisans received due impetus and recognition in proper quarters. All the sections of the people went on gaily with their work in life. Perfect harmony prevailed in the whole atmosphere. Women folk, whose chastity was under perpetual danger of being molested during the cruel rule of the Śakas and even before that, now breathed relief from all anxieties. Under the strict vigilance of the police-force of the king and by the noble example set by the king himself, their chastity became absolutely inviolate.[68] Crime was conspicuous by its absence. At the very beginning of his rule, he had severely supressed all criminal and immoral activities which were a source of constant danger to the safety and security of the people.[69]. Strict laws were enacted to put a stop to such undesirable things.[70] The safety and the happiness of his subjects were so dear to his heart, that on most days in a month, he sacrificed his well-earned rest at night, and with some of his most loyal and trustworthy

(67) Pp. 368, f. n. no. 10. "From Amarakosha we learn that Sudraka, Hala and other kings had the title of Vikramāditya". It is probable that the subjects of these kings conferred the title on these kings, on account of their continuous efforts to make them happy.

(68) The misconduct of Pingalā is an apt instance of this.

(69) This will show that mere laws are not enough for abolishing criminal activities at any time. There must be a strict hand and an effective and organized policy to enforce them.

(70) Read f. n. no. 69 above.

body-guards, he walked in cognito round the streets of the city at mid-night[71]. Many a time he mixed with various sections of the people, who could not recognize him on account of his disguise. No danger daunted him and no difficulties could deter him from pursuing the path of his noble mission of making his subject happy. He used to visit alone the most haunted places and dared to fight against the most evil supernatural spirits like devils and witches[72]. His dare-devil temperament and his determination to face any difficulty at any time, won him the most cherished title " Vīr Vikram ". He performed his duties as a king, not because he wanted to earn their praise and admiration but because he most earnestly believed that as a king, he was entrusted by the Almighty with the most sacred trust. Consequently, his name shines even to-day with unimpaired brightness[73]. His love for his subjects was inexpressibly profound. This is the reason why, though many emperors, who wielded their sway over empires much mightier than Vikram's, are no longer remembered affectionately by the people but Vikramāditya's name is on the lips of all.[74].

As a matter of fact, Bhartṛhari's name should not be included in the dynastic list of the Gardabhīls[75]. During the rule of his elder brother Vikramāditya, he helped him whole-heartedly in all the activities accruing to the happiness of the people. Hence, next to Vikramāditya, he also had won a place in the hearts

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(71) Cf. pp. 333, extract from H. H. "He himself went out in disguise".

(72) Cf. pp. 373, f. n. no. 31.

(73) He was endowed with many other virtues. Vide pp. 366 and read there the life of Ṣanku.

(74) Details given in this paragraph provide ample testimony of this.

(75) In all the popular songs he is known by the name "King Bharathari". As a matter of fact, however, he never came to the throne as an independent sovereign. No doubt, Vikramāditya, his elder brother, loved him so much that he had granted him wide powers and had entrusted him with high offices in the administration. Moreover, whenever Vikramāditya remained temporarily absent from his kingdom, Bharatṛhari was appointed as the head of the whole administration. Read f. n. no. 77 below.

of the people. In fact he was one of the strongest pillars that supported the edifice of Vikramāditya's beneficent rule. For some time he was placed at the head of the whole machinary of administration. So, the authors of Purāṇas have mentioned his name in the dynastic list.

BHARTṚHARI, BHARATHARI-ŚUKRADITYA

Bhartṛhari–Bharathari : Śukrāditya

The reason why Bhartṛhari was, for a time, invested with all the powers of a king is as follows. We have already stated in a previous paragraph that Vikramāditya's sense of justice was incomparable. His zeal for administering even-handed justice to all his subjects was supreme–indeed it was as supreme–as the zeal of Priyadarśin for the propagation of his faith, and of Chāṇakya for putting into practice all the tenets of political science. So, whenever he was not satisfied with the evidence presented to him by his officers, he used to varify it by stralling in cognito round the streets of the city at night. On one such occasion[76], he had to remain in cognito for some time. During that time, Bhartṛhari was invested with full powers[77]. We do not know how long Vikramāditya remained out of his kingdom.

Bhartṛhari had in him all the admirable qualities of his elder brother and so, he was loved by the people as tenderly as his brother. So, when due to a family calamity, he renounced the world and became an ascetic, the bereavement of the people knew no bounds. Many songs, vividly describing that sad occasion, are extant even to–day. The reason of this renunciation by Bhartṛhari was the disloyalty and misconduct of his queen, Pingalā by name. Under the wanton rule of the Śungas, moral degeneration had become rampant among the people. That continued, though to a lessened degree, even after the rule of the Śungas, and inspite of the strenuous efforts of Vikramāditya at rooting the evil out,

(76) It is not yet known what the occasion was. We can conclude, however, that it must have been very important.

(77) Vide pp. 332, f. n. no. 9, read the extract quoted there. Cf. f. n. no. 75 above.

it was not wholly wiped out. When Bhartṛhari came to know that the queen, whom he loved more than his own life, was utterly faithless to him, he renounced the world and retired into forest[78].

Bhartṛhari was a learned man. He composed a learned treatise named "Śukasaptati." After his retirement[79] into the forest he composed many poems. We do not know when he died. He is popularly known as Bharathari.

Now the reader will see that Bhartṛhari cannot be classed as an independent king and that his name should not be included in the dynastic list. After his renunciation, Vikramāditya again took control of the administration. Vikramāditya died in A. D. 4 and his son Mādhavāditya succeeded him on the throne.

(3) MĀDHAVĀDITYA; (4) DHARMĀDITYA; (5) VIKRAMACHARITRA : MĀDHAVSEN

(3) Mādhavāditya, (4) Dharmāditya, (5) Vikramacharitra : Mādhavsen

It is a custom, commonly observed by all historians to give a separate account of each king in a dynasty. We have here deviated from the custom for the following reasons:—(1) We have stated in Vol. I, that as yet, little or nothing is known about many dynasties[80] that ruled in ancient India. The Gardabhīla dynasty may, without much fear of exaggeration, be included in the list. Hence, if an attempt is

(78) Cf. the extract quoted on pp. 333:—"Younger brother Bhartṛhari, the noted poet; several years after Bhartṛhari disgusted with the world, through a family calamity let Rāj to his ministers and passed into religious retirement.

(79) The legend tells us that he put on coloured garments and took to ascetic ways of life. We know, however, that his family-religion was Jainism. Hence, he must have entered the Jaina holy orders.

(80) Some of the names of such dynasties are given below:—

Prasenjit's dynasty (The king of Kośal).
Bṛhadrath's dynasty (The king of Kāśī).
Udayan's dynasty (The king of Vatsadeś).
The Pradyota dynasty (which ruled over Avantī).
Mahāmeghvāhan's dynasty (The king of Chedi).
Udāyan's dynasty (The king of Sind-Sauvir). etc. etc.

made to give a separare account of each king, conclusions arrived at, after much hard thinking and proper consideration of all available information, are very likely to be ascribed to those, with whom they might have nothing to do. (2) The duration of the rule of these three kings has been fixed up as 90 years. Pages and pages might be filled up, with all imaginary trash about them, if one so desires to do. We know, however nothing more, than details about four or five events, out of the many that might have happened during this period of 90 years[81]. And, if we try to give a separate account of each king, it is very likely that confusion might prevail about the time, when they must have happened. Hence, we have given here the account of these three kings conjointly.

We have distributed these 90 years among the three kings in the following order : 40 : 10 : 40. We have stated reasons for doing so in Chap. I. We might add here that there is a possibility of change in the order of their succession. For instance, Mādhavsen or Vikramacharitra, who has been placed 5th in the line, may as well have been the name of the 3rd king and vice versa. There is, however, little doubt about the name of the fourth king, because the name of the successor[82] of Vikramāditya was Mādhavsen (or Mādhavāditya), while the name of the fourth king was Dharmāditya. Similarly; there is also a possibility of change in the durations of their rules, though it is pretty certain that both Nos. 3 and 5 ruled for a longer period than did No. 4. Vikramāditya ruled for 60 years. The reign of his successor also lasted for a pretty long time. Again, No. 3 was the son of No. 2. So[83] the fourth king must have ruled for a short time.

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(81) Details about these events are given later on.

(82) Details about this are given in Chapter I.

(83) We have used the same rule in arranging the chronological list of many dynasties. (Vide Vol. I). For instance:—

The Śiśunāga dynasty.

The dynasty of Śatānik, the ruler of Vatsa.

The dynasty of Chaṇḍapradyot, the ruler of Avantī etc. etc.

Let us now turn to the five events that took place during their rule. (1) It is stated in Rājtaraṅgiṇi[84] that Mantrigupta was appointed as governor of Kāśmir by a king named Vikramāditya. (2) It is stated on pp. 142 of J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IV, " In a Marwari manuscript of 121 pages without date, Gardabhīla is said to have 84 Samantas. (3) Madhavsen, the son of Vikramaditya, had married a certain princess named Sulochana, who was the daughter of a king of a certain island in the Arabian Sea.[85] (4) legend prevailed in the North-West Provinces to the effect that the daughter of the king of Dhar was married with a Gardabha[86]. (5) It is stated in Jaina books[87] that a high priest named Vajrasvāmi, who was 15th in the line from Mahāvīr, got many temples repaired on Mt. Śatrunjay. Almost at the same time, Vikramāditya and Hāl-Śālivāhan of the Śatvahana dynasty also performed religious ceremonies there[88]. Now, we shall try below to find out the approximate time when each one of these five events occurred. We shall also make an attempt to find out the collateral circumstances.

(1) On pp. 378 we have stated that Mantrigupta must have been appointed as governor of Kāśmir by a king of the Gardabhīla dynasty. His name is stated to have been Vikrama. Naturally, he has been identified with Vikramāditya Śakāri by all, due to the similarity in names and due to the fact of his having been the most powerful and the most famous king in the whole dynasty. A study of the information at hand about him, however, points to the conclusion that the odds are against the theory. A king, who conquered Kāśmir, must also have conquered all the territory lying between Avantī and Kāśmir, because without doing so, he could not have crossed those territories in order to reach Kāśmir. It has been proved that Vikramāditya Śakāri's reign lasted from B. C. 57 to A. D. 4 (See the dynastic list facing

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(84) Pp. 378 above.
(85) Pp. 333 above.
(86) Pp. 336 above.
(87) Vide Pariśiṣṭha Parva.
(88) Some of the details have already been given.

pp. 79). Now, during that time the territory in question was under the power of the Indo-Pārthian emperors, Azilises and Aziz II. (Chap. VIII their accounts). So, it is quite improbable that Vikramāditya Śakāri conquered Kāśmir and appointed any one as governor over it. Now then, let us try to find out which king of the Gardabhīla dynasty could have done so. We know that in A. D. 45, Goṇḍofārnes, the fifth Indo-Pārthian emperor gave up his Indian throne and went for good to Persia to occupy the vacant throne there. We also know that the rule of the Kuśāna dynasty over northern India—including the provinces in question—was established in A. D. 78[89]. (According to my calculations, the year of the establishment of the rule of the Kuśāna dynasty is 103 A. D.) So, any one of the Gardabhīla kings, who may be on the throne during the intervening period between 45 A. D. and 103 A. D. must have been powerful enough to achieve this conquest. A glance at the dynastic list will tell us that such Gardabhīla king was Vikramacharitra - Mādhavsen. It is quite possible that due to similarity in names, he must have been confused with his more powerful and more famous predecessor Vikramāditya. Hence, we may conclude that Vikramacharitra's kingdom included within it all the territory lying between Avantī and Kāśmir and that he appointed one of his ministers Mantrigupta by name, as governor over Kāśmir. Here, one may reasonably raise a doubt. The rule of Goṇḍofārnes over northern India ended in 45 A. D. The king who was on the throne of Avantī at the time was Dharmāditya, the 4th king. Again, his rule lasted upto 53 A. D. Is it not possible that it was he, who

(89) I. A. Vol. 37, pp. 33:—"Prof. Oldenberg put forth the statement that Kanishka founded the Saka era and this theory has been generally accepted by the majority of oriental scholars".

In north India the "Pūrṇimānta" system of calculating time was prevalent; while the "Amāsānta" system was prevalent in central and western India. This shows that political changes in north India were of a very short duration, because the same system was prevalent during the rule of the whole of the Kuśāna dynasty. (Vide poste Part VIII, Chap. II and read there the matter pertaining to f. n. no. 46 in the extract beginning "According to Dr. Kielhorn himself)."

conquered Kāśmir ? In answer to this we can only say that the odds are in favour of No. 5, because his reign lasted for 40 years, while the reign of No. 4 lasted for only ten years. Again, the similarity of names, due to which the confusion has resulted, exists between No. 2 and No. 5; the name of No. 4. (Dharmāditya) admits of no such confusion, because in Rājtaraṅgiṇi, the term "Vikrama" is explicitly stated.

(2) The second point to be considered is that a certain Gardabhīla king had 84 Sāmantas. Of all the Gardabhila kings, only three, namely Nos. 2, 3 and 5, were powerful enough to have so many Sāmants under them. Of these three, No. 2, Vikramāditya Śakāri is the most popular and most well known. Naturally, one is inclined to believe that only he, of all the kings of the Gardabhīla dynasty, was powerful enough to have such a large number of Sāmantas. We have, however, shown above, that the territorial extent of No. 5 was much more larger than that of No. 2., because the kingdom of the former included within it all the territory lying between Avantī and Kāśmir. Hence, we shall have to conclude that though No. 5 is not as popularly remembered as No. 2 to-day, his was a more extensive kingdom, thus requiring a large number of Sāmantas.

(3) Now we have to find out which king of the Gardabhīla dynasty married Sulochanā, the daughter of the king of an island in the Arabian sea. The very name of the princess shows that she was the daughter of an Āryan king.[90] We, however, know nothing about the island over which he ruled. We do not know his name also. I think, however, that if we deal with point No. 5 below, in conjunction with this point, we might come to some tangible conclusion. So, we postpone the consideration of point No. 4 in favour of point No. 5.

(90) One might wonder whether Indians would ever have settled in Arabia, the home of Muslims at present. In answer to this, we may state that, the Islam was founded in the seventh century A. D. We are here, on the other hand, considered with the first century B. C. At that time, Arabia was under the rule of Jaina kings. (Vol. II, pp. 52, f. n. no. 54).

(5) It is stated in Jaina books that Vajrasvāmi was the 15th monk in succession to Mahāvīr (His time was V. E. 78 to 114 = A. D. 21 to 57 = 36 years). He got many temples repaired on Mt. Śatrunjay. The Jaina gentleman, who financed these reparations was Jāvaḍśāh by name. He was a native of a town named Madhuvantī (Mahuvā) which was situated in the southern part of Saurāṣṭra. His father's name was Bhāvaḍśāh. He was the owner of a large commercial fleet and conducted large scale business with many foreign countries, the ports of which were constantly visited by those ships. He had also purchased large tracts of land in Arabia, over which he had acquired judicial and revenue powers. He used to stay there for a number of years at a time. He often visited his native place. On one of such occasions, he financed the reparations of temples on Mt. Śatrunjay, at the instance of Vajrasvāmi. These facts lead us to believe that this gentleman enjoyed sovereign rights over Arabia or over some island on the Arabian sea; and that he used to visit his native place often. On such visits he used to perform religious ceremonies and grant large sums of money for religious purposes. In the account of Vikramāditya Śakāri, we have stated that he and Hāl Śālivāhan of the Śātvāhan dynasty performed religious ceremonies on Mt. Śatrunjay under the supervision of the three Jaina monks, whose names were, Pādaliptasūri[91], Nāgārjun and Āryakhapuṭ[92]. These details lead us to the conclusion that the Gardabhīla kings were adherents of Jainism.[93], and that

(91) The town of Pālitāṇā was named after the name of this Pādliptasūri. From this, we understand that the ascent to Mt. Śatrunjay must have been put into vogue from Pālitāṇā and must have been shifted from Junāgaḍh.

(92) According to Jaina books these events took place in the beginning of the Vikrama era, i. e. nearly 10 or 15 years after the era was begun. Vikramāditya Śakāri died in A. D. 3. (Vide pp. 368, f. n. nos. 10 and 12. See the dynastic list given in the next Vol.) and Hāl Śālivāhan died in A. D. 15. The reparations financed by Jāvaḍśāh under the supervision of Vajrasvāmi in about A. D. 50. This proves that Vikramāditya, Śālivāhan and the Jaina monks named Pādlipta, Nāgārjun and Āryakhapuṭ lived some 20 to 25 years before Vajrasvāmi.

(93) Vide pp. 380 above.

they performed Jaina holy rites on Mt. Śatrunjay, the most sacred centre of Jainism. It is quite probable that one of the Gardabhīla kings, who must have come into close contact with Jāvaḍśāh, accepted his daughter's hand in marriage[94], thus cementing the tie of relationship with one, who was also an ardent follower of the same faith. Thus most probably, Sulochanā was the daughter of Jāvaḍśāh.

Now let us find out which of the Gardabhīla kings married Sulochanā. The author has plainly stated that it was Mādhavasen, the son of Vikramāditya. Mādhavsen's number in the dynastic list in 3. Let us see whether that contention is all right or not. No. 3, according to that list, ruled for 40 years from A. D. 3 to A. D. 43. The time of Vajrasvāmi, under whose supervision the reparations took place, was A. D. 21 to 57. So, the dates tell us that most probably this king married Sulochanā, the daughter of Jāvaḍśāh.

There is another possibility also and it deserves some attention. The time of Vajrasvāmi was A. D. 21 to 57. This means that he was a contemporary of the 4th and the 5th Gardabhīla kings also. Hence, one may well ask " Why should we not suppose that one of them married the daughter of Jāvaḍśāh ? ". We may state in answer, that the reparations in question took place in the first part of Vajraswāmi's career. Hence the probability is that No. 3 married Sulochanā.

If the conclusion arrived at above, be proved to be true, events Nos. 3 and 5 took place during the reign of the Gardabhīla king No. 3.

(4) Now we turn to point no. 4., which tells us that a legend prevailed in North-West Provinces to the effect that the daughter of the king of Dhār married a Gardabh. We have already proved that it was the 5th Gardabhīla king whose sway extended over Kāśmir and over those provinces. So, the legend must have first spread there during the rule of this king. We

(94) Class distinctions were no bar to marriages in those times. A Vaiśya could marry a Kṣatriya.

know that the root of the legend lies in the fact, that Gandharvasen, the founder of the Gardabhīla dynasty had married the daughter of the king of Dhār.

In short, events Nos. 1, 2, and 4 are connected with the 5th Gardabhīla king, while events Nos. 3 and 5 are connected with the 3rd Gardabhīla king. We close their accounts here, as we have no further information about them.

It is our custom to devote a separate chapter to the account of the territorial extent of a dynasty. But as very few details are available about the dynasty itself, we have thought it proper to close this chapter with what information is at hand on this point.

The territorial extent of Vikramcharitra

Gandharvasen came to the throne of Avantī immediately after the death of Nahapāṇ, the Kṣahārāṭa kṣatrap. Naturally, all the territory that was under the rule of Nahapāṇ came then under his power. Ṛṣabhadatta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ, was however, the rightful claimant to the throne. So, when he heard that Gandharvasen had usurped the throne of Avantī, he declared himself as the independent ruler of all the provinces over which he was appointed as governor. To that extent was narrowed down the suzerainty of Gandharvasen; and his reign lasted for too short a time to allow him any opportunity for expanding his kingdom. And hardly had he settled himself and consolidated his power, when due to his thoughtless and wanton behaviour, he had to face a calamity which ended in the establishment of the rule of the Śakas over Avanti. The hold of the Śakas over the already reduced kingdom was still more loosened on account of the atrocities which they perpetrated over the people. Thus, when their rule ended and Vikramāditya Śakāri ascended the throne of Avantī, his kingdom was merely a slice of the original realm. By a happy combination of valour and tact, he expanded his kingdom very rapidly. He defeated Devaṇak, the son of Ṛṣabhadatta and annexed all the provinces under his rule, with the result that he became the master of all

the territory that was under the rule of Nahapāṇ—i. e. the whole of central India from east to west. He had no further territorial ambitions. The whole of south India was under the powerful rule of the Āndhra kings, with whom he always maintained relations of a most cordial nature and who had virtually helped him to the throne. In the same way, the Indo-Pārthian emperors were supreme over the whole of north India. Moreover, much of his time and energy, he had to devote to establishing peace and order in his own kingdom, where people's minds had known no peace during the rule of the cruel Śakas. His reign lasted pretty long. Hardly one or two kings of all the kings that ruled in India enjoyed a longer reign. Inspite of such longevity, his kingdom was not very vast. His was a reign of peace, prosperity and order. His son, who succeeded him, followed the foot-steps of his worthy father. So, no tetritorial expansion has been recorded during his reign. This state of thlngs continued uninterruptedly upto the beginning of the reign of the fifth king of the dynasty. Then fortune smiled upon it. The Indo-Pārthian emperor-Goṇḍofarnes left India for good and went to Persia to occupy the vacant throne there. So, the northern provinces-especially Mathurā, the Indo-Pārthian capital and Takṣilā-had practically no ruler over them. Vikramcharitra, the fifth Gardabhīla king, had no difficulty in annexing these provinces to his own kingdom. We have given above enough proofs in support of this. After acquiring mastery over the Punjab, he felt a desire to bring Kāśmir under his rule, because it had the best climate of all the provinces. He conquered it and appointed his minister, Mantrigupta as governor over it. In short, during the time of Vikramcharitra, there were only two mighty kingdoms in India-all the territory on the north of the Vindhyā ranges constituted the kingdom of the Gardabhīla kings and all the territory on the south comprised the Āndhra kingdom. By this time, the Kuśāns came to power in the territory lying on the northern borders of India. Their chiefs-Kadaphisis I and Kadaphisis II conquered all the territory around the Hindukuśa together with the provinces, named Kābul and Chitrāl in Afganistan. These provinces were formerly under the rule of the Indo-Pārthians.

Having achieved these conquests on the borders of India, they now began to cast longing eyes over India proper. They were however not powerful enough to oppose Vikramcharitra and so rested content with their acquisitions. In 93 A. D. Vikramcharitra died. The account of the events that happened after his death is given below.

It is found that these five kings ruled for 49 years (93 A. D. to 141 A. D.) in the aggregate. Probably each of them ruled for a decade. No noteworthy event seems to have happened during their rules.

Nos. 6 & 7—No. 8 Bhailla: No. 9 Nailla and No. 10 Nāhaḍ

No information is available as to what happened to Mantrigupta. Probably he was defeated and killed by some Kuśāna chief. In about 100 A. D. Kadaphisis II died, leaving his throne to his ambitious and brave son, Kaniṣka I. He aspired to be the master[95] over a realm as vast as that of the Chinese Emperor. After conquering both Kāśmir and the Punjab, he advanced further to achieve more conquests. During the 25 years of his powerful rule, he annexed the whole of northern India including Rājputānā and selected Mathurā as the seat of his capital;—the former Indo-Pārthian capital. Consequently, the territory under the rule of the Gardabhīls was now but a portion of the original kingdom. The Kuśana empire, on the other hand, now not only became as vast as that of Menanḍer, the yona general, but had Kāśmir under its rule also. We know that Menanḍer had appointed Bhūmak as kṣatrap over Rājputānā—Madhyadeś. In the same way, Kaniṣka appointed Ghṣamotik as the kṣatrap over that province. In the course of time, Kaniṣka was succeeded by his brothers Vasiṣka and Haviṣka, and others. Ghṣamotik was succeeded by his son, Chaṣṭhaṇ by name, in about 142 A. D.[96]. By that time, important changes took place in the

(95) Proofs about this will be given in the next volume. Before he saw the fruit of his efforts, he was murdered.

(96) A change of a year or two may have to be instituted in this number. This is a provisional number.

Kuśāna empire, which was on its way to decline. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Chaṣṭhaṇ invaded Avantī, defeated the last Gardabhīla king, Nāhaḍ by name and established himself as the ruler of Avantī. Thus ended the Gardabhīla dynasty.

Details about the religion followed by the Gardabhīla kings have already been given in the account of Vikramāditya Śakāri. So, no new paragraph is given here in connection with them.

Part 8

PART 8

VARIOUS ERAS : OR DATING OF EVENTS



Chapter I

(1) Mahāvīra era
(2) Chedi ,,
(3) Kṣaharāṭa ,,
(4) Vikrama ,,

Chapter II

(5) Mālava era
(6) Śaka ,,





Chapter I

The various Eras

Synopsis:—*Methods adopted in the literatures of all the three religions for the calculation of time—Innovations introduced by different kings—foreign and Indian.*

The theory that the scholars hold about the founding of the Vikrama era—Śakāri Vikramāditya has been said to have been the founder of the era; who was he?—when did he live and rule?—Extracts quoted from the books of about ten scholars in connection with this—Discussion about it and the conclusion arrived at by us—Details about nearly 12 to 15 kings, who lived at any time during the 1000 years beginning with B. C. 57 and all of whom were called (or called themselves) "Vikramāditya"—which of them can be called Śakāri Vikramāditya?

Causes why the Vikrama era fell into disuse after some time—Difficulties arising from the tendency of the writers to give figures without mentioning the era to which they belong—The possible year from which the Vikrama era was dated; two numbers in connection with it.

INTRODUCTORY

Dating of events

If, in stead of indicating in a very general manner the time when a particular event took place, a particular date is given about it (i. e. the number of the year of a king's reign or of a particular era), the reader is duly impressed with the authenticity of that event. There were various methods of indicating the exact time of the occurrence of an event.

In ancient India, various eras were in use for this purpose. Two such eras are mentioned in the most ancient Hindu sacred books. One was called the Udhiṣṭira era and the other was called the Laukik era. The former was also called the Kali era. These eras were, however, in use in very very ancient times with which we are not concerned here. So, no details are given about them.

The time-limit fixed up for this book is 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.; during that time there were two religions in India. In the middle of the 6th century B. C., Buddhism came into being. Some portions of the population were converted to it; and during the rule of Aśokavardhan, it was almost the state religion and much prominence was given to it. Except Aśok, however, no other Indian king seems to have been either its follower or its supporter. Moreover, it spread for the most part in Ceylon.[1] Hence it did not exercise much influence over India. It would not thus, argue injustice, if we omit any mention of it[2] in this chapter. The two religions, which were most prevalent in those times were Hinduism and Jainism. Brāhmins are considered to have been the originators of the former and their most sacred books are the Vedas. In the 8th century B. C., we may thus note that only two religions existed, namely Hinduism and Jainism.

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(1) Read f. n. no. 2 below.

(2) The Buddhist era is of use and of importance to the ancient history of Ceylon only. It was in use in India during the rule of Aśokavardhan only. Buddhism had not much influence in India.

The two eras, the names of which we have mentioned above, were used by writers of the Vedic books only. The reason for this probably was as follows. The Kali era was founded in commemoration of the Mahābhārata wars. It is generally believed that the Pāṇḍavas, and the Kauravas were followers of the Vedic religion.[3] The Pāṇḍavas, as it is well known, were the victors in these wars. Yudhiṣṭhir was the name of the eldest Pāṇḍav. His devotion to truth was unique and unsurpassed. So, the era which was founded in commemoration of these wars was called the Yudhiṣṭhira era. It is also believed that the Kali age began almost at this time. So, the era is also called the Kali era. This era is principally used in all the Vedic books.

Things are not so simple in Jainism. No era seems to have been used in ancient Jaina books. At the most, it is stated that a particular event took place during the " period "[4] of a particular Tīrthaṅkar. Each of these periods consists of, not a small number of years. So, though the events themselves may be of historical authenticity and importance, yet modern scholars hesitate to give credence to them. This is a defect—and an unfortunate one at that—which has made Jainism suffer very much. During the 9th century B. C.—all events, that happened since when, have been recorded in this book—there prevailed the " period "[5] of Neminăth, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkar. A century after it began the " period " of Parśvanāth, the twenty-third Jaina Tīrthaṅkar. Events that took place since then upto the time of the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr, are described to have happened in the " period "[6] of Parśvanāth. Since the year of Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr, an era was started in commemoration of his name. Even then, not many

(3) We are not here concerned with the question, whether the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas were really the followers of the Vedic religion or not.

(4) In Jainism, "Period" means, the time that elapses between the lifetime of one Tīrthaṅkar and that of his successor. (Read f. n. no. 6 below).

(5) Vide pp. 92 and also details about Kṛṣṇa and Neminăth in the Appendix on Mathurā.

(6) The " Pārśvanāth Period " means the interval between the time of attaining Kaivalyagñān by Pārśvanāth and that of by Mahāvīr.

Jaina books, since written, seem to have dated the events according to it. Nor does it seem to have been much used in state records. Several inscriptions[7], however, of those times, contain the mention of this era.[8] This leads us to believe, that some such era was used sometimes, if not always[9]. It does not appear that all the inscriptions contain its mention. Later on, some of the kings began to get it inscribed, that a particular

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(7) Some of such inscriptions are:—(1) The Hāthīgumfā inscription by Khārvel; the number given in it is believed by scholars to be representing the Maurya era. We shall prove later on, that this conclusion of the scholars is not correct. (2) The Sahaśrām inscription by emperor Priyadarśin. (For details about it, vide Vol. II. Full details about it will be given in the "Life of Priyadarśin" to be published shortly by me). (3) The inscription, details about which are given on pp. 2 of the "Mathurā Inscriptions" by Śrī Gaurīśanker Hirāchand Ozā.

Over and above these proofs based on inscriptions, the evidence of coins also established the fact, that the Mahāvīra era was started. (Vide Vol. II, pp. 83 to 87 and footnotes there. Read especially f. n. nos. 70–71).

(8) Though it is not explicitly stated in those inscriptions, that the numbers given in them represent the Mahāvīra era, the weight of circumstantial evidence proves them representing that era only. (No. 3 in the above f. n. no. 7 is more explicit than others in this matter).

(9) C. A. R. Pref. CXC:—"With the silver coins of Chasthana, begins the use of patronymics, which is the chief characteristic of this dynasty and which together with regular practice of dating the coins, has made it possible to restore the outlines of its geneology and chronology with remarkable completeness."

[Note : The extract quoted above testifies to its author's belief that upto the time of Chaṣṭhaṇ—i. e. upto the beginning of the Christian era—no dynasty founded its own era; and that whatever eras there were in existence, were founded in commemoration of some religious event or some religious prophet. The first to found the era in commemoration of his own name was Vikramāditya. Both Chaṣṭhaṇ and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi started their own eras, by way either of emulation or of jealousy. Probably, they were instrumental in the discontinuance of the Vikrama era. Vikramāditya was thus the pioneer of the system of starting an era in his own name. All credit for that innovation rightly goes to him. At the same time, the blame of discontinuing the system of religious eras, also must be imputed to him. Similarly the discontinuance of the Vikrama era, later on, was due to the coming into being of other eras, (Read further).]

event took place during the particular year[10] of their reign. This helps us to locate the time, when those events took place. As long as however, a particular system of dating events is not uniformly adopted in all books, we have to experience much difficulty in fixing up the dates of events. Ancient Jaina kings do not seem to have been particular about it, probably because they had no great attraction for fame or long-lasting names. Neither do they seem to have deemed such a record of dates to be one of the important branches of knowledge to be imparted to the posterity.

This state of affairs continued for three centuries after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr. As time went on, foreigners began to invade India with the result, that Indians came into close contact with them. People began to understand that recording and dating certain events would be advantageous to them as well as to posterity. Alexander the Great was the first powerful invader over India. Two or three centuries before him, the Persians had invaded and plundered some parts of India. We have not taken much notice of them, because they did not settle in India and because they are not in any way connected with internal affairs. Various foreign races invaded India after Alexander the Great. They do not seem however, to have attached any significance to dating events. Had they felt any importance of these events, they would have dated them at least, with the eras in use, in their native countries. The first Indian ruler—though of a foreign origin—who dated events that took place in his reign, according to an era, was Bhūmak, the Kṣaharāṭa[11] kṣatrap. Nahapāṇ continued the practice of his father. They began their own era and called it the Kṣaharāṭa era. Other foreign rulers[12] also dated the

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(10) This method has been adopted by Priyadarśin in his inscriptions and Chakravarti Khārvel in his Hāthīgumfā inscription.

The kings of the Traikūṭaka dynasty adopted the same method in their coins. (Vol. II, pp. 142, coins nos. 105 and 106).

(11) Vide the account of Nahapāṇ.

(12) Viz. Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ in the inscriptions at Nāśik, Rājuvul and Pātik in Takṣilā and Mathurā. (Ante. pp. 202. Read there details about the Lion Capital Pillar at Mathurā).

events of their reigns according to this era, as we have already noted[13]. The first brave and powerful Indian ruler—the son of the soil—who founded an era in his name and who scrupulously made use of it, was Vikramāditya Śakāri.

In short, in ancient Vedic books the Kali era or the Yudhiṣṭhira era was used.[14]. No definite method of dating events was adopted by Jaina writers of those times. This continued upto 57 B. C. = A. M. 470. By that however, India had assimilated and had become the home of many foreign races, who had indistinguishably mixed and mingled with the sons and daughters of the soil. People had begun to think in the terms, of India for Indians and a sort of patriotic spirit had spread among, and taken root in, the minds of all. Nationalism was in vogue. Events were happening, the recording and dating of which seemed imperative to all concerned. People were as if eagerly waiting for some powerful king, who would start an era and who would relieve them from the cruelties of the Śakas. At last, Vikramāditya Śakāri who inflicted a terrible defeat on the Śakas and who

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(13) We have not mentioned the names of Indo-Pārthian emperors in f. n. no. 12 above, due to two reasons. In the first place, they lived and ruled much after Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ and hence, they cannot be considered as the first adopters of the system. In the second place, they have not made use of any era. The number, which is found on the Takṣilā copper-plate, has been mistakenly believed by scholars to be representing some connection with Mauses. True details about it have been already stated on pp. 187 and seq. A glance at them will convince the reader that the number represents the Kṣaharāṭa era.

(14) The Śunga kings were the followers of the Vedic religion. Their royal preceptor was Patanjali, the famous grammarian and staunch adherent of the same faith. In spite of this, the Śunga kings do not seem to have used the Yudhiṣṭhira era. Hence, we have reason to believe that Yudhiṣṭhir and Patanjali must have belonged to different faiths and that this belief must have been current even in those times. (Vide pp. 42. There we have proved that Agnimitra should not be believed to have been a follower of the Vaiṣṇava sect, simply because he destroyed the Voḍvā stūpa of Mathurā. For the information of how such incident of change in faith has occurred, vide Vol. II, pp. 371).

established peace, order and justice everywhere, was hailed as a God-sent deliverer by all, and an era was at once started in commemoration of his name. In connection with this era, Dr. Keilhorn says:—" Samvat and Sam may be used for the years of any era and only in quite modern times are those terms by the Hidus themselves employed to distinguish the Vikrama from the Śaka years. In fact the words "Varsha" and "Samvatsara" are synonymous and such differentiation can hardly be exact." Another scholar[15] says in this connection:—" The term Samvat does not apply exclusively to the era of Vikramaditya. Colebrook first corrected this erroneous supposition in regard to the Bhupal dynasty, the Samvat of the Gour inscriptions, Col. Todd in regard to Vallabhi Samvat and Kirkpatrick in regard to Newar era (A. D. 880) of Nepal."[16]

Thus was begun the Vikrama era, which was adopted in the whole of northern India. In southern India, however, different conditions prevailed. We shall note them later on.

From 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.—the time-limit fixed for this book—four eras came into existence. They were:—(1) The Mahāvīra era; (2) The Chedi era[17]; (3) The Kṣaharāṭa era & (4) The Vikrama era. The numbers are assigned to them according to the priority of their beginning and of their use. Of these, No. 3 was the era started by foreigners. Details about the origin of No. 1 and of No. 3 have already been given above. Details about

(15) Vide I. A. Vol. 20, pp. 404; I. A. Vol. 37, pp. 46; Princep's "Indian Antiquities; Useful Tables", Vol. I, pp. 525.

(16) Thus "Samvatsar" is a general term meaning "era". (In Jaina books also this term has been much used. Scholars, however, mistakenly believe that the term "Samvatsar" means the "Vikrama era" only. Many confusions and misapprehensions have resulted from this. For instance, it is stated in Jaina books that Devaḍḍigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇ lived in 510 and Haribhadrasūri died in 585. These numbers, the scholars believe, represent the Vikrama era. As a matter of fact, however, they belong to quite another era. Similarly, the numbers stated in the inscriptions at Hāthīgumfā and at Sahasrām, represent the Mahāvīra era. Read f. n. no. 32 below.

(17) For an example of this, read line no. 6 in the Hāthīgumfā inscription.

No. 2 will be given in the account of the Chedi dynasty, to be given later on; while the account of the Vikrama era is given below.

There are few differences of opinion about the name of the founder of this era. A short time after its inception, it was discontinued on account of certain reasons.

The Vikrama era

Unfortunately, scholars are not unanimous about these causes. Several theories are, moreover, advanced about the possible year, when it was founded. Some hold the opinion that it was started in the year in which Vikramāditya came to the throne. Others go against this contention. Thus, there is a sort of tangled skein about the information regarding this era. This state of affairs necessitates a thorough and detailed examination of, and inquiry into, the whole problem. We shall, therefore quote below extracts from different scholars representing the various points of view. Then we state reasons for our own theory about the problem. Some of the prevailing confusions will have to be dispelled, in the light of logical reasoning and of information available to us from various sources. The readers will then see, that most of the theories held about this era by various scholars, have no basis in the realm of truth and logical reasoning.

Another point to which the reader's attention should be drawn at this place is, that same eras have been much mixed with the Vikrama era. This has given rise to numerous false theories and contentions. So, if clear-cut information is given about them, most of these false theories would cease to vex the minds of the readers and of the scholars as well. Hence, though giving details about these eras is not properly within the province of this book, we have not refrained from giving some details about them, because they help a lot in clarifying false theories woven around the Vikrama era. The two eras in question are the Mālava era and the Śaka era. Some scholars believe that a separate era was started in about B. C. 80, (Read and compare last few lines on pp. 256 and few initial lines on pp. 257 above.) during the rule of Aziz I, the Indo-Pārthian emperor, and the

successor of Mauses. The era was none else but the Śaka era and hence it need not bother us here.

We have already noted that an era was generally started in commemoration of a great and noteworthy event[18]. The event itself may have been social, religious or political. The very fact that this era has been named the Vikrama era shows, that it must have had vital connection with a person named Vikramāditya and that it must have been started in commemoration of some memorable event that took place in his reign. The thing we have now to find out is, who was this Vikramāditya? In commemoration of what event during his reign was the era started?

It has been unanimously established that the title of Vikramāditya, who founded the era, was "Śakāri." He is generally called by all historians as "Vikramāditya Śakāri" or "Śakari Vikramāditya. The things we have to find out are: the dynasty to which he belonged; his time; how many kings in ancient India were called by the name "Vikramāditya" and which of them was the founder of the era.

Who was Vikramāditya?

To start with, we shall quote below extracts from various writers, who hold different theories about these problems. Then we shall give our own notes on these theories and then we shall arrive at final conclusions regarding them. We shall next discuss the event, in commemoration of which the era was started; we shall also state in what parts of India the era is in use.

Over and above Śakāri Vikramāditya, he had two or three other names; viz Vikramasen and Vikramasiṁh[19]. One more name is stated in Amarakośa—namely–Śudrak[20].

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(18) C. A. R. Intro. pp. 162. Para 135:—"The foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of any".

(19) Vide Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 122.

(20) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, no. 1, pp. 64–65:—"From Amarkosha we learn that Shudraka, Hala and other kings had the title of Vikramaditya".

[Note : This proves that King Hāla's other name was Vikramāditya.]

(1) One writer[21] says:—" Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya[22] A. D. 389-414, finally crushed the Śaka power of Ujjain....Indian tradition does not make any distinction between the first Vikramaditya and the second. It regards the supposed founder of the era, which began in B. C. 57 and the royal patron of Kalidas, who lived more than four hundred years later, as one and the same person."

From this extract we understand that (a) Chandhragupta II alias Vikramāditya—the Gupta king-was the ruler of Avantī. He ruled from A. D. 389 to 414. He extirpated the Śakas and started the Vikrama era. (b) Another king named Vikramāditya lived about 57 B. C.; Indian tradition, having mixed him up with the Gupta king of the same name, has established him as the founder of the Vikrama era.

[Note:—It is true that Chandragupta II, of the Gupta dynasty, had assumed the name Vikramāditya and that he had ascended the throne of Avantī after defeating the Chaṣṭhaṇa Kṣatraps; the extract quoted above betrays its author's mistaken belief that the Chaṣṭhaṇas were Śakas. It has been conclusively proved however, that the Śakas were extirpated by Gautamiputra Śātakaraṇi[23] in A. D. 78 (?). Hence the theory that their

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As regards Śudraka it is stated in Amarkoś:—"This Shudraka may be said to have founded the Vikrama era in B. C. 58, by defeating the Sakas of Malwa. Tradition is strong in ascertaining that Vikramaditya defeated alien Sakas near Karur and established his era".

(21) C. H. I. pp. 533.

(22) On pp. 533 of C. H. I. It is stated in connection with the meaning of the word Vikramāditya:—"Vikramaditya = The Sun of Might". It is hopeless to discriminate between the elements, which may be historical and others which are undoubtedly romantic in the great cycle of legends which has gathered round the name or rather the title of Vikramaditya. The Sun of the Might may be kings at different periods and in different countries of India may have been so styled—while it is possible,—nay even probable, that there may have been a Vikramaditya, who expelled the Sakas from Ujjain".

[Note : Details about this will be given later on.]

(23) The Nāsik inscription by Queen Balaśrī. (Supra pp. 150).

extirpation took place nearly four centuries later than that, is entirely ill-founded. The evidence based on rock-inscription proves it beyond doubt, that the Śakas were no more in India after A. D. 78. Again Chasthaṇ was not a Śaka[24]. The Śakas, whom we have called Scythians for the sake of clarity, were rooted out by Vikramāditya of the Gardabhīla dynasty in B. C. 57[25]; while the Indo-Scythians were massacred and driven out by Gautamīputra Śatakarṇi, the son of queen Balaśrī.[26] These details clearly show that the theory, that there were at all any Scythians or Indo-Scythians in the 4th century A. D. is little more than a chimera. Many other pieces of evidence can be given to disprove the theory. We need not bother about them here, as the evidence stated above is quite enough. So Chandragupta II cannot be called Śakāri Vikramāditya and the founder of the Vikrama era.

(2) Another writer[27] says:—"This Aziz I has been placed in about B. C. 58; and it appears therefore that the era referred to, in the Taxila inscription is the Vikrama era, beginning in 58 B. C. which was founded perhaps to commemorate the accession of Aziz I". Commenting on this extract, Mr. Rapson observes:— "The interpretation may well be correct, inspite of the tradition, that the era was founded by Vikramāditya of Ujjain to commemorate the defeat of Śakas." These extracts thus state plainly that (a) though the king who rooted out the Śakas was Vikramāditya of Ujjaini (b) yet the Vikrama era, which is said to have been begun in 58 B. C. and which is mentioned in the Takṣilā inscription, was begun to commemorate the accession of Aziz I.

[Note: Mr. Rapson, in trying to support the contention stated in the first extract, has virtually repudiated it. In the

(24) Pp. 164-169 where comparison is given between Nahapāṇ and Chaṣṭhaṇ and between their races.

(25) Vide ante, pp. 367.

(26) Pp. 297 & seq. details about the end of the Śāhī dynasty.

(27) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928, new edi. Vol. III, pp. 68; also point no. 10 in this chapter.

same breath he has stated two contradictory things. He expresses his inclination towards the theory that the era was started in connection with Aziz I, and then immediately hastens to observe that the extirpator of the Śakas was Vikramāditya, the king of Ujjain. We may note here, that the seat of the capital of Aziz was Mathurā, and that he never defeated the Śakas. Hence he cannot be said to have held the title "Śakāri" which has been proved to have belonged to the founder of the Vikrama era. Moreover, B. C. 58 was not the year in which his rule began. That year, on the contrary, saw the end of his reign.[28]]

(3) The third scholar[29] says:—"In general, Hindus knew of but one Vikramaditya but the learned acknowledge four; and when written authorities were examined, they were found no less than eight or nine. Those, who reckon four heroes of that name, agree only about two. The first Vikramaditya was he, after whom the period is demonstrated; the second is Raja Bhoja."

[Note:—The author of the extract has refrained from stating his own opinion about the various theories. He has merely stated the various opinions that exist on the problem and has rested content with that. Neither has he given the date of Vikramāditya, the founder of the era, nor has he given any other details about him. Probably he holds the opinion, that of all the nine Vikramādityas, the one who preceded all others, was the founder of the era. As to how many kings lived in ancient India with the name Vikramāditya to their credit, we shall discuss it later on.]

(4) Sir Cunningham[30] says:-"A cave inscription at Udayagiri of Samvat year 1093 or A. D. 1036, couples the name of Chandragupta with the kingdom of Vikramaditya. In the Rajatarangini also, it is mentioned that Mantrigupta was placed on the throne of Kāshmir by Vikramaditya of Ujjain. According to my corrected chronology of Rajatarangini, this happened in A. D. 433.

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(28) See above the dynastic lists facing pp. 79 and pp. 329.

(29) Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 117.

(30) Vide "The Bhilsā Topes" by him, pp. 143.

The Satrunjaya Mahatmya also places (Wilford Researches A. S. Bengal IX 156: and Wilson. Res. A. S. Beng. XV, 39 note) the third Vikramaditya in Samvat 466: A. D. 409".

From this extract of Sir Cunningham, we understand that: (a) According to the cave inscription at Udayagiri, a certain king named Chandragupta was a contemporary of Vikramāditya. (b) According to Rājataraṅgini, Vikramāditya placed Mantrigupta on the throne of Kāśmir. (c) During the time of Vikramāditya the work named "Śatrunjaya Mahātmyam" was composed. Sir Cunningham thinks that all the three Vikramādityas connected with the three activities mentioned above, represent one and the same individual. In support of this contention, he states that according to his corrected chronology of the Rājataraṅgini, Mantrigupta's accession to the throne took place in 433 A. D. and that Mr. Wilford and Mr. Wilson have proved that "Śatrunjaya Mahātmyam" was composed in 409 A. D. In short, Sir Cunningham holds the theory, that all the three points mentioned above, are connected with one and the same Vikramāditya, who ruled from 409 A. D. to 433 A. D. at the least.

[Note:—The reader will note that Sir Cunnigham has built his theory on the assumption that, if mention is found of two activities happening almost at the same time, in connection with individuals of the same name, then in all probability, the two identical names represent one and not two individuals. Now this assumption cannot always be true, because in every period of time, there have been not only two but several persons holding the same name. We here draw the reader's attention to Vol I. pp. 187 and request him to glance at the dynastic list given there. We have shown there how, so many confusions have arisen in the arrangement of historical data, because two kings named Bhojdev were contemporaries and how, events connected with one, have been often mistakenly ascribed to the other. Sir Cunningham however, being an acute and accurate student of facts, is not at all dogmatic about his theory. He has stated it merely as a probability; we will leave it at that. Turning to his other reasons in support of the theory, we will have to state that the time of

the composition of Śatrunjaya Mahātmyam was not A. D. 409. We have elsewhere proved conclusively[31] that the number 477, which is stated in the book by the author himself, represents the Mālva era[32]. Calculating it in terms of the Vikrama era, we get the year 1066 when Bhojdev, who had also assumed the name Vikramāditya, was ruling over Mālwa. (Vide Vol I. pp. 187; see the dynastic list there). At his court, Śri Dhaneśvarasūriji[33], a Jaina monk and author of Śatrunjaya Mahātmyam, was the royal preceptor. This means that the book was written in about[34] 1009 A. D.=1066 of the Vikrama era. As regards the third point, we have to state that in Rājataranginī, the king who placed Mantrigupta on the throne of Kāśmir is definitely named as Vikramāditya Śakāri. We have proved in the foregoing pages that he belonged to the Gardabhīla dynasty. Hence his time could never have been A. D. 430[35]. Thus, of the three points raised by Sir Cunningham, the last two are found to be groundless. As regards the first, he has simply mentioned that a certain individual named Chandragupta was a contemporary of Vikramāditya. He has not stated whether that Chandragupta was a king or was not one. In short, in the light of the facts that we have at hand, we find it difficult to concur with the view-point of Sir Cunningham.]

(5) Mr. Thomas[36] says:—" As there were many Vikramadityas,

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(31) Vide pp. 420 to 424 of the "Jaina Dharma Prakāś", Vol. 43. V. E. 1884, Fālgun number 12. It is a monthly published from Bhāvnagar.

(32) Cf. f. n. no. 16 above; then it will be clear how many confusions have arisen from this.

(33) Dhaneśvarsūri enjoyed the same status at the court of king Bhojdev at Mālwā as did Śrī Hemachandrāchārya at the court of Kumārpāl, the Solankī king of Gujarāt.

(34) We have written here the word "about" because it has not yet been definitely established when the Mālawa era was founded. (Read further in this chapter).

(35) Vide pp. 378 above, for details about Mantrigupta. His time has been fixed up from A. D. 53 to 93. For further details, vide next page point No. 5.

(36) J. R. A. S. Vol. XII, pp. 14.

so probably there were many Sakaries[37]. Every frontier encounter with the Scythians, which did not result in absolute defeat of the Indian forces, would under the usual terms of oriental hyperbole, entitle the local monarch to the honorary appellation of " Foe of the Scythians "; and whatever may have been the real effect of the vaunted success of Vikramaditya's arms against the Sakas, now conclusively dated in A. D. 78." The same writer[38] says elsewhere, " The Rajatarangini, the only Sanskrit Indian history extant, though avowedly local in its purpose, gives promise —could we rely on its chronology—of unexpected illustration of the present subject of inquiry, in as much as, it notices a Vikramaditya of Ujjain[39], specified particularly as Emperor of India, who nominated Mantrigupta to the throne of Kashmir; moreover, to extend the coincidences, this Vikramaditya is cited as having previously expelled the Mlechhas and destroyed the Sakas."

The extracts quoted above are taken from an article written about 90 years ago. Researches during these 90 years have effected several far reaching changes in the conclusions arrived at by its author. We shall not here go into details about these changes. It will be sufficient to observe however, that the author has not given any evidence in support of his contention, that there were many Śakāris. The extracts tell us one thing very plainly—that the king who founded the Vikrama era was definitely called Śakāri. The second thing that we have to note about it is, that though he believes the facts stated in Rājataraṅgiṇi as true, yet he does not fully agree with the chronology given in it. Thirdly, he also believes that the founder of the era, besides being the king of Avantī and the emperor of India, was

(37) It is true that there have been many Vikramādityas; it is not however, true that there were many Śakāris. Had the writer forwarded any proofs in support of the contention, we would have submitted them to the test of inquiry. The fact is that, only one Indian king held the title Śakāri. As for the number of Vikramādityas, read further in this chapter.

(38) J. R. A. S. Vol. XII, pp. 13.

(39) Ibid. His des. Roi's du Kachmir II 76 (Troyer). Wilson, Asiatic Researches Vol. XV, pp. 38.

also the person who nominated Mantrigupta to the throne of Kāśmir. All these points, as we have noted in No. 4, apply to Vikramāditya of the Gardabhīla dynasty.

(6) One writer[40] has raised quite a different point of view:— " Traditions are strong in asserting that Vikramaditya Shalivahan defeated the alien Sakas near Karur and established his era, Salivahan Sakabda ".

[Note:—In the first place, the author does not explicitly state, whether he writes about the Vikrama era or about the Śaka era. He clearly mentions the term Śakābda; while, on the other hand, it is definitely proved that the extirpation of the Śakas at Kārur is connected with the Vikrama era.

Let us examine the theory in details and find out the truth. There is little doubt about the fact that a certain king named Śālivāhan was the founder of the Śaka era and that he defeated the Śakas[41]. Does this however in any way prove, that he was also called Vikramāditya ?[42]. The author has made no attempt to prove that. Of nearly 30 kings of the Śālivāhan dynasty, no one ever was called Vikramāditya, except one king named Hāl, who according to Amarkośa, assumed that appellation. (f. n. 20 above.) We have already proved above, on the authority of the Nāsik inscription by Queen Balaśrī that it was her son, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi by name, who rooted out the Śakas. Again, Kārur[43] where the battle is said to have been fought has yet not

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(40) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 65.

(41) It seems now, that some change will have to be instituted in this, in the light of further research work. Vide the account of the Śatavāhana dynasty.

(42) This Śālivāhana king was given the title "Vikramāditya" by the poet Guṇāḍhya who flourished at his court. He did so, in order to give a glowing account of his bravery. So the term has been used there, in the adjectival sense and for the sake of simile. (Vide Vāśiṣṭhiputra's (Hāla's) account in the next Volume).

(43) It is believed that the present town of Mandsore was called Kārur in those times. Mandsore is situated near Ratlām, in the north of Avantī. It is my opinion, however, that Kārur was situated in the south of Avantī. Details in connection with this will be stated later on.

been located. Some scholars believe, that it must have been situated in Mālwā. A little knowledge however, of the history of those times will tell us that at that time, Mālwā was not under the power either of the Śakas or of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. It was under the suzerainty of the Gardabhīla kings of Avantī. Now, if the Gardabhīla king had not himself been concerned in the battle, he would never have allowed two foreign powers[44] to fight in the territory under his power. Let us suppose that Kārur ·as Mr. Vincent Smith says[45], was the capital of Kochin in south India. In that case also, the difficulty stated above arises, because the kingdom of the Āndhras never extended beyond the southern banks of the Tuṅgbhadrā or upto the northern frontiers of the modern Mysore State. The Śaka kingdom also had its furthest limits upto the southern banks of the Narbadā and upto the source of the Godāvarī in the Nāsik district. As a matter of fact, the battle between the Śakas and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was fought on the soil of Saurāṣṭra[46]. Thus the theory, that Hāl Śalivāhan was connected with the battle fought at Kārur is a mere chimera. Even if one tries to establish that king Hāl of the Śatavahan dynasty was the founder of the Vikrama era, one has to face the difficulty that his reign * began nearly ten years after 57 B. C. Thus, it is definitely established that Vikramāditya Śakāri of the Gardabhīla dynasty was the founder of the era].

(7) Another scholar has stated his theory as follows[47]:—"He was called Vikramaditya II, the Great, who founded Samvat era in A. D. 515 to 550, who revived Hinduism and introduced Shiva-puja."

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(44) The last European war was fought on the soil of Belgium and was therefore universally denounced as transgressing the most sacred international law.

(45) Vide pp. 157, f. n. no. 5 of "Aśoka" by Vincent Smith:—"The ancient capital (of Keralputa) was Vanji, Vanchi or Karur (Tirur-Karur) about 28 miles E. N. E. of Kochin.

(46) Vide the account of Ṛṣabhadatta.

(*) See the dynastic list of the Śatavāhanas, in the next Volume.

(47) Dey's "Ancient Geography of India", pp. 59.

[Note:—In the first place, the author has not started the dynasty, to which he belonged and the territory over which he ruled. To find out all these things from the date given by him would be little short of cutting blocks with a razor. Probably the writer alludes to the battle fought between Mihirkul and Tormāṇ on the one hand and the Rājputs of Mālwā on the other. Even this theory, as will be shown in No. 8 below, is quite ill-founded.]

(8) A writer[48] states that, according to Dr. Hoernel and Dr. Keilhorn, Yaśodharmā defeated Mihirkul at Kārur in 544 A. D. This theory however, has been refuted by Dr. Vaidya, stating that the two scholars referred to above, based their theory on the contention of Mr. Albaruni. He also states that the battle of Kārur took place many years before 544 A. D. In short the author inclines towards Dr. Vaidya and says that the theory, that a battle was fought at Kārur between the Rājputs of Mālwā on the one hand and Tormāṇ and Mihirkul on the other, which is held by Dr. Hoernel and by Dr. Keilhorn, who have based their conclusions on the authority of Mr. Albaruni, is quite ill-founded.

[Note:—Mr. Albaruni lived in the 12th century A. D. i. e. several centuries after the battle of Kārur was fought; even if we accept that it was fought in 544 A. D., Mr. Albaruni has based his conclusions on legends and on other such doubtful sources. This is evident in every page of this book. Naturally, we are inclined to agree with Dr. Vaidya. Again, this particular conclusion is refuted by the author of Amarkoś,[49] who was not only the son of the soil but a Hindu also. Naturally, facts stated in Amarkoś are nearer truth than those by a foreigner like Mr. Albaruni. The victor at the battle of Kārur was Vikramāditya Śakāri. Mihirkul and Tormāṇ were Hūṇa chiefs. They were not Śakas in any way. The king who defeated them may well be

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(48) "Bhārat-kā Prāchin Rājvaṁśa", Vol. II, pp. 386 and seq.

(49) Vikramāditya has been called "Śakāri" in Amarkośa" itself. (f. n. no. 20 above).

called Hūṇāri but he cannot be called by any stretch of imagination, Śakāri. The Hūṇs hailed from Tibeṭ and from Asian Turkey; while the Śakas were the natives of Seistān, which was situated on the borders of Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Persia. In short, the Hūṇs and the Śakas were different races. They came to India at different times, and their homes were also quite different. The battle of Kārur, as the author of Amarkoś says, was fought in B. C. 57 and the victor was Vikramāditya Śakāri of the Gardabhīla dynasty].

(9) The famous scholar—Mr. Fergusson, holds the following opinion[50]:—" Hieun Tshang is generally very careless about his dates. Shree Harsa Vikramaditya Sakari lived and defeated the Sakas at the battle of Karur in the first half of the sixth century of our era and the Hindus for the sake of adjusting their eras, placed these events in the first century before Christ." From this extract we understand that (a) Hieun Tsāng was very careless about dates; (b) Śri Harṣa whose another name was Vikramāditya, was the holder of the title " Śakāri "; (c) The battle at Kārur was fought in the 6th century A. D. and the victor in the battle was the above-mentioned Śri Harṣa (d) the Hindus, for the sake of adjusting their eras, placed these events in the first century B. C.

[Note:—With all due respect for the learned scholar, we cannot help observing, that to state a theory is one thing and to prove it convincingly is quite another. In the first place, Harṣa's other name was Śilāditya and not Vikramāditya. Secondly Harṣa lived in A. D. 634, i. e. in the latter half of the seventh century and not in the latter half of the sixth century as the author complacently belives. Thirdly, if he had credited the Hindus with even an iota of commonsense, he would never have thought of alleging that they were so devoid of all sense of proportion and time as to place events as back as seven centuries. Fourthly, the Śakas were conspicuous by their absence in the sixth century A. D.; where is then, the question of defeating them and earning

(50) J. R. A. S. Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XII, pp. 279.

the title "Śakāri". No historian except the learned writer, ever has appended the appellation "Śakāri'. to Harṣa's name. The writer ought to have stated proofs in support of his individual contention that he was called "Śakāri". Theories, unsupported by solid and reliable pieces of evidence, count for little in historical treatises and are a positive source of nuisance and annoyance to all concerned. (5) On what authority does the writer charge Hieun Tshang, a religious missionary to India with carelessness in dates? In short, Mr. Fergusson's theory does not impress us as either true or plausible.]

(10) In an authoritative treatise[51] it is stated:—"To Aziz I has been attributed the foundation of the Vikrama era, beginning B. C. 58 and according to Sir John Marshall, an inscription discovered by him at Taxila is actually dated in the year 136 of Aziz. This inscription may well be correct, inspite of the tradition that this era was founded by king Vikramaditya of Ujjain to commemorate the defeat of the Sakas and whatever may have been the origin of this era, the assignment of Aziz I to this period is justified by other considerations."

[Note : In the first place, Aziz I and Vikramāditya were not contemporaries at all. It is so far true that Vikramāditya came to the throne some years before or after the death of Aziz. Thus Vikramāditya can no doubt be said to be alive and kicking on this globe during the later life of Aziz; but most probably they were not contemporaries in the sense, that both ruled at the same time. Aziz died about B. C. 58. Should we then subscribe to the belief, that he started an era in commemoration of his death? Secondly, for what earthly reason should Aziz go out of his way and found an era in the name of Vikramāditya? How could he have anticipated the accession of Vikramāditya in B. C. 57, a year after his death? Aziz was a foreigner and had no ties whatsoever with Vikramāditya. Thirdly, on what ground is it asserted that No. 136[52] belongs to Aziz? At the

(51) C. H. I. pp. 571.

(52) The number given in the Takṣilā inscription is, really speaking 79;

most, one can suppose that at the time when the Takṣilā inscription was inscribed, Aziz used in it the era which was most prevalent there. That era could not decidedly have been started by Aziz, because he did not (even including the reign of his predecessor) live for those many years. Whether it was the Vikrama era or not is a different question. (It was not). In short, Aziz had no connection with the era that was started in B. C. 57. (Some details about Aziz I are given in No. 2 above).]

We have quoted above, extracts expressing ten different points of view about the founder of the Vikrama era. We have also criticized them in the light of indisputable pieces of evidence available and in the light of logical reasoning. Several other extracts can be quoted if one may, but the view-points expressed in them are almost included in the points discussed above. So, we have refrained from bothering our readers with any more of them. After a close scrutiny of these view-points and after gleaning all available truth from them, we arrive at the conclusion that (1) Vikramāditya was the founder of the Vikrama era; and (2) that he earned the title "Śakāri" by inflicting a heavy defeat on the Śakas at Kārur, the location of which has as yet not been fixed.

Many kings in ancient India assumed the name Vikramāditya and it has been very difficult for the students of history to find out, which of them may rightly be called "Śakari". If this is once for all found out, there would be little room for doubt and for various theories about the founder of the era. So, an attempt is made below to enumerate the names and dates of the kings who assumed the title Vikramāditya. Then we shall try to find out which of them earned the title "Śakari".

According to Mr. Princeps[53], the Vikrama era was prevalent in north India only. In this connection he says:—" The era of Vikramaditya is in general use throughout Telangana[54] and

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but B. C. 57 is added to it and thus the total comes to 136. For details about this, vide supra, pp. 186 and sequel.

(53) Vide pp. 157 of his "Indian Antiquities and Useful Tables"

(54) It is not quite clear which province the writer means by the term

Hindustan properly so called. It is less used, although known in Bengal, Tirhut and Nepal and according to Warren, is nearly unknown in the Peninsula ". This extract means that the Vikrama era must have been founded by some powerful king, who ruled in north India. In spite of this, we shall state below the names of those south Indian kings, who called themselves Vikramāditya, so that there may be absolutely no room for doubt. Then shall we try to find out, which of them enjoyed the well-earned and much-disputed title " Śakāri ". Though the fact, that the era was founded in 57 B. C. limits our time about that date and though thus, we have to be concerned only with those Vikramādityas who flourished about that time, yet to dispel all possibility of doubt, we shall take stock of all Vikramādityas that wielded sceptre and wore the crown from 57 B. C. to 900 A. D.[55] Rock-inscriptions are extant which bear the dates 811 (A. D. 754[56]), 826 (A. D. 769[57]) and 897 (A. D. 840[58]) of the Vikrama era. In a rock-inscription in Kāthiāwār, the date is 794 (A. D. 738[59]). But the date, the day and constellation stated there-

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Telangaṇa. Perhaps he means the regions in which Telugu is spoken. In the latter part of the same statement, it is clearly stated that the era was practically unknown in the peninsula. This means that Telangaṇa must have been the name of a province in north India, or there may have been some mistake about that name, because, as a matter of fact, Telangaṇa was in south India.

(55) The custom of adopting the title "Vikramāditya" fell into disuse after the establishment of Muslim power in India. (Vide the account of Vikramāditya Śakāri).

(56) Dr. Bhāu Dāji, after quoting an extract from J. R. A. S. Vol. II, pp. 271 states on pp. 68 of the second Archeological Report:—" He knows of no inscription dated in the Samvat, before the eleventh century of the Christian era. General Cunningham goes nearly so far. He says the Samvat of Vikramāditya was not used so early as 826, (Arch. Dept. Vol. II, pp. 266); though somewhat inconsistently he says in the same volume that the earliest inscription he knows dated in the Vikrama era is 811 or A. D. 754. (Arch. Dept. II, pp. 68.) "

(57) Arch. Dept. Vol. II, pp. 226. (Read f. n. no. 56 above).

(58) Bhā. Prā. Rāj. Vol. II, pp. 386; I. A.' Vol. XIX, pp. 35; (of the time of Mahāsen Chauhāṇ of Dholapur).

(59) I. A. Vol. XIX, pp. 35.

in, do not bear out a close scrutiny. Hence we can not call it very reliable.

During nearly one thousand years that elapsed between B. C. 57 and A. D. 900, numerous kings—Indian and foreign—ruled over north India. Of these, we shall rule out the foreign ones because, as the term "Vikramāditya" makes it manifest, we are concerned with Indian kings only. The Indian dynasties who enjoyed power in north India were : the Gardabhīla dynasty; the Gupta dynasty; the Parmāra dynasty; the Pratihāra and Parihāra dynasties of Kanoj; and the Vallabhī dynasty of Saurāṣṭra. These were the dynasties that ruled over north India during the interval from B. C. 57 to A. D. 900. In south India, three dynasties—namely the Āndhra, the Chāulukya and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa—ruled during the same time. Thus, in all nine dynasties ruled over north and south India during the time-limit, with which we are concerned here. The Vallabhī dynasty in the north, and the Āndhra[60] and Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasties in the south, have no Vikramāditya to boast of. We have noted below the Vikramādityas of the remaining six dynasties:-

Dynasty	Year (date)	Years
(A) Gardabhīla dynasty :		
(1) Vikramāditya or Vikramasiṁha	B. C. 57 to A. D. 3	60
(B) Gupta dynasty :		
(2) Chandragupta I or Vikramāditya I	A. D. 319 to A. D. 330	11
(3) Chandragupta II or Vikramāditya II	A. D. 375 to A. D. 414	39
(4) Kumārgupta or Vikramāditya III	A. D. 480 to A. D. 495	15

(60) It has been subsequently found out, that of the 30 kings of the Āndhra dynasty, no. 17 (King Hāl) held the title Vikramāditya. He cannot, however, in any sense, be called Śakāri. (Point no. 6 above). So, we have not given his name in the list. We have, however, not omitted to mention him at least in the footnote.

Dynasty		Year (date)	Years
(C) The Parmāra dynasty:			
(5)	Yaśodharman[61] Vikramāditya or Śilāditya	A. D. 515 to A. D. 550 or A. D. 540 to A. D. 590	35 or 50
(6)	Devśakti (He was probably called Vikramāditya)	A. D. 720 to A. D. 780	60
(D) Chāulukya dynasty:			
(7)	Vikramāditya I[62]	Śaka 655 to 681 A. D. 733 to A. D. 759	26
(8)	Vikramāditya II[63]	Śaka 681 to A. D. 759 to	

Some scholars[64] hold the opinion that sometimes the king, who had assumed the title Vikramāditya was called "Bhoja" also. Hence we have also to take note of the kings, who had this name to their credit. According to Colonel Todd, there were three[65] kings holding this name and they hailed from two dynasties. I happen to agree with Col. Todd in this except, that one of these three Bhojdevas had another contemporary of the same name; thus there were four Bhojdevas. They were as follows:—

(61) Vide pp. 219 of introduction to "Gauḍavaho".

(62) J. B B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, pp. 17.

(63) Read point no. 3 above; Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 177.

(64) Read point no. 3 above; Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 177; J. R. A. S. Vol. XII, pp. 275:—"Bhoja is the name of Persians given to Vikramāditya's son and often confounds the acts of the one with those of the other; Farishtah Danes translation, Vol. I, pp. 13".

(65) According to Colonel Todd the time of these three is (1) 631; (2) 721; and (3) 1091. He has, however, not stated to which era these numbers belong. It is probable that they represent the Vikrama era. Hence we have taken the corresponding Christian dates as 575, 665 and 1035. (Vide "Rājasthān" by Colonel Todd).

Dynasty	Year (date)	Years
(E) Parmāra dynasty of (Avantī):		
(9) Bhojdev, the contemporary and patron of poets named Bāṇ and Mayur according to Vedic books, and of Māntuṅgasūri, a Jaina monk and author of " Bhaktāmar-stotra ", according to the Jaina books.	About A. D. 550. He ruled for nearly 60 years.	
(10) Bhojdev: Ādivarāh; a contemporary and patron of Siddharṣi, the author of "Upamiti Bhava Prapañcha."	A. D. 870 to A. D. 915=45 years.	
(11) Bhojdev : Śilāditya; the nephew of Munj the powerful and pupil of Vādivetāla Śāntisūri.	A. D. 996 to A. D. 1055=59 years.	
F) Parihāra dynasty (of Kanoj):	The same time as No. 10.	
(12) Bhojdev, a contemporary of No. 10, and grandson of Āmradev, the disciple of Bappabhaṭṭasūri.		

The reader will note, that of the four Bhojdevas enumerated above, Nos. 10, 11 and 12, do not at all hold the title " Vikramāditya. " No. 9, seems to have been the successor of No. 5 (at least in time.) [These dates have been based by me on circumstantial evidence; but if at all, a change is required, it would not make difference of more than 10 years.] Now, if we take it for granted, that the battle of Kārur was fought in 534[66]

(66) As a matter of fact, its date must have been 531.

A. D., then No. 9 will have to be ruled out. In short, none of the four Bhojdevas seem to have any right to the title " Vikramāditya."

Now we turn to the first eight kings, who were called Vikramādityas and shall try to find out, which of them can properly be called " Śakāri ". In doing so, we shall guide ourselves according to two or three well recognized rules. In the first place, a king always prefers the era of his own dynasy to that of any other. Now, it is well known that the Guptas had started their own era and that they uniformly used it. Naturally therefore, the Gupta kings must not have given up their own era in favour of any other era. We have already proved, moreover, that neither No. 2 nor No. 3 was ever called " Śakāri. ". Hence Nos. 2, 3, 4 from the above list have to be excluded. The same rule applies to Nos. 7 and 8; both of whom belonged to the Chāulukya dynasty, which had its own era-namely, the Śaka era. So, we now exclude Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8, from the list of the probable founders of the Vikrama era.

We now turn to Nos. 1, 5 and 6. All the three ruled over Avantī. Kārur is said to have been situated in Mālwā, a district of Avantī. Now the battle at Kārur was fought not earlier than 57 B. C., and not later than 533 A. D. The time of No. 6 being much further, he shall also have it to be eliminated.

If we can fix up, once for all the time of the battle of Kārur, we can definitely say, which of the remaining two kings—Nos. 1 and 5—held the title " Sakāri " and was the founder of the Vikrama era. Now both No. 1 and No. 5 had to wage war against foreigners. (1) No. 5 had, however, to fight against the Hūṇs (points Nos. 8 and 9 above); while No. 1 rooted out the Śakas. So, No. 5 can be called " Hūṇāri " (the foe of the Hūṇs) and No. 1 can be called " Śakāri " (the foe of the Sakas). (2) The term " Śakāri " is always appended to the name of No. 1; while it is appended to No. 5 for a special reason only. (To find out, why the Vikrama era fell into disuse and was revived later on).

(3) A glance at the history of the Śakas will convince any one that their extirpation must have taken place at the hands of No. 1 only.[67] Thus, we come to the conclusion that the title "Śakāri" properly belongs to No. 1, and that No. 5 was the proper holder of the appellation "Hūṇari"[68].

We may now try to decide the respective places where the Śakas and the Hūṇs were defeated. The author of Amarkoś, an authoritative treatise, plainly tells us, that Śakāri Vikramāditya met the Śakas in an open battle at Kārur. Naturally, we shall have to agree that No. 5 fought with the Hūṇs at some other place. In this connection Mr. Fergusson observes[69]:—"Battles of Karur and Mansheri[70] freed India from the Sakas and Huns who had held her in utter subjection; these two battles were fought between A. D. 524 and 544; I feel inclined to fancy that they may only be different names of the same battle. At all events, they almost certainly represent tracts of the same campaign, which freed India in that age from the Yavanas. It was to commemorate the glories of these struggles that the Vikramaditya Samvat was afterwards instituted." Though we do not, and in the light of

(67) See the Nāsik inscription by Queen Balaśrī. It is stated therein, that the Śakas were rooted out. The inscription is accepted to have been erected not later than first century A. D. Hence the extirpation of the Śakas must have taken place before or at least by, that time.

(68) Some details on the point are connected with the Mālava era. Hence they are not given here. Readers, desirous of being acquainted with these details, are requested to read further in the volume.

(69) J. R. A. S. Vol. XXI, pp. 284.

(70) If it is proved that Manśeri was but another name of Mandasore, then the contention that Kārur was another name of Mandasore would be proved wrong. In the light of the information supplied by Amarkoś, it is quite proper to say, that the battle between Vikramāditya Śakāri and the Śakas was fought at Kārur. (Read the next Vol. for details about this. Kārur must have been situated somewhere in the region lying between Mālwā and the southern banks of the Narbadā). Here we rest satisfied with the fact that Kārur was the scene of the battle between Śakāri Vikramāditya and the Śakas and that Mandasore or Manśeri was the scene of battle between Hūṇāri and the Hūṇs.

facts cannot, agree with several points in the extract quoted above, we concur with the statement that "Hūṇari" Vikramāditya fought a battle against the Hūṇa hordes at Manśeri.

So, we now come to the following conclusions:—

(A) The battle between Śakāri Vikramāditya and the Śakas took place at Kārur in 57 B. C.[71]. This Vikramāditya belonged to the Gardabhīla dynasty.

(B) The battle between Hūṇāri Vikramāditya and the Hūṇs took place at Manśeri in 531 A. D. He belonged to the Parmāra dynasty and was the ruler of Mālwā;

The difficulties of Jaina historians

Enough details have now been given about the Vikrama era. The Mālavā era and the Śaka era, which are many a time confounded with the Vikrama era, will be dealt with in the next chapter. We shall therefore, close this chapter after giving the reader some idea of the difficulties, which writers of those times had to experience in connection with the Vikrama era.

Long before the Vikrama era was founded, there were writers of historical and other treatises connected with all the three religions. The followers of one of the religions only however, had to face the difficulties, because writers of the other two faiths always used eras, which were prevalent at the time of writing and which were suited to the nature and purpose of their subjects. Jaina writers were, on the other hand, under the stress of peculiar conditions. They used the Mahāvīra era before the Vikrama era was founded. When the Vikrama era came into being, they were on the horns of a dilemma, because Vikramāditya, over and above being a brave and powerful king, was a staunch follower of Jainism. So, after the founding of the Vikrama era, they sometimes used that era and sometimes used the Mahāvīra era. This state of affairs continued upto the end of the rule of the Gardabhīla dynasty, which lasted for a century and a half. Then began the rule of the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty over Avantī; and

(71) C. H. I. pp. 155:—"Initial point of this era ought to be B. C. 57 or 56¾ instead of B. C. 56. (Ancient Eras by Cunningham, Pref. viii).

the provinces on the north of Avantī had long since come under the power of the Kuśans. It has been conclusively proved that both these dynasties founded their own eras. The next to succeed on the throne of Avantī were the Guptas. They also founded their own era. Later on, when their rule ended, the Hūṇa hordes invaded and conquered Avantī. After half a century of cruel and inhuman rule, the Kṣatriyas of the Agni Kula, who were created from fire, extirpated them and established their own power over Avantī. In commemoration of their victory they started their own era. Their rule lasted for nearly two centuries. Last but not the least, the Muslims invaded, conquered and settled in India and introduced their own era. Thus, within the span of seven or eight centuries, one new era succeeded and supplanted its predecessor and in its turn was succeeded and supplanted by another. Hence, the difficulties of Jaina writers increased to a great extent. The Vikrama era remained unused for several centuries[72], among the people at large and among the writers of books. Sometimes writers used that era in their books, which was prevalent in the province where they stayed[73]. Sometimes only

(72) Why the era is not found to have been used is now clear.

(73) Below are given some examples of this.

(a) Many Jaina manuscripts were transcribed in Vallabhīpur during the time of Devaḍḍhigaṇi, the great Jaina monk. The number connected with this is 510. Scholars have taken it for granted that it represents the Vikrama era, while really speaking, it represents the Gupta era, which was prevalent at that time in Vallabhīpur. In terms of the Vikrama era, the number would come to 885.

(b) Haribhadrasūri, a great Jaina monk, is said to have written 1444 books. One of them, "Samarāditya Kathā" by name, has become very famous and has been translated into English by several scholars. This Sūri stayed in the Vallabhī kingdom and has used the number 585 in his books. Scholars have taken it for granted that the number represents the Vikrama era, while as a matter of fact, it represents the Gupta era, which when converted into the Vikrama era comes to 960.

(c) The same misunderstanding is prevalent about the time of many other Jaina monks like Śilānksūri, Dākṣiṇyasūri and Jinbhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇ. This subiect is discussed in details by me in the "Jaina Dharma Prakāś". The reader is requested to go through the following numbers of that monthly:—

the date was mentioned and the name of the era was omitted. Sometimes the term "Śaka" (meaning "Era" of the land[74]) was prefixed to the number. This gave rise to still more confusions, because while in north India the term "Śaka" signified nothing more than "Era", in south India, there actually was prevalent an era of that name (Śaka era). The reader will now see clearly that the term "Śaka" had different connotations in north, and south India.

Special difficulties arose when the number had to be used in connection with the name of a king. The writers naturally enough wanted to eulogize their patron kings in as glowing terms as possible. For doing so, they appended the title "Vikramāditya" or "Bhoj" to their names[75]. This custom continued to be observed uninterruptedly upto the advent of the Muslims in India. We know that the Muslim influence and hegemony was established over north India much earlier than it was

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V. E. 1983, Vol. 43, No. 6, pp. 196 to 204.
" " " " " 7, " 229 to 236.
" 1984, " " " 9, " 317 to 323.
" " " " " 10, " 346 to 349.

In the same way, misapprehension prevails about the number 477, mentioned in "Śatrunjaya Mahātmyam" a treatise composed by Śrī Dhaneśvarsūriji, the royal preceptor and guide of King Munj of Mālwā and of Bhojdev, his nephew and successor. As a matter of fact, the number belongs to the Mālava era, which in terms of the Vikrama era, comes to 1066. In connection with this, the reader is requested to read my article in the "Jaina Dharma Prakāś", Vol. 43, 1984, Fālgun No. 12, pp. 420 to 424.

Vide ante. text on pp. 411 under Sir Cunningham's quotation.

(74) In f. n. no. 73 (c) above, there have been stated the names of Śilānksūri and Dākṣiṇyachinhasūri. The latter has composed a book named "Kuvalaymālā". He has stated therein that he was the disciple of Śilānksūri and has also given number 790 as the Śaka year of the composition of his book. Scholars have transferred this number into the Vikrama era, by adding 135 to it. (790+135=925). Really speaking, the term "Śaka" here means the "Era of the land"=the Gupta era, as has been already explained in the various numbers of the Jaina Dharma Prakāś, quoted above.

(75) For instances of this read the details about the possible number of Vikramādityas and Bhojdevas, above.

established over south India. Hence, the custom persisted there for much longer time[76]. These details will give some idea to the readers of the difficulties that the writers of those times—and especially the Jaina writers—had to face in dating events described in their books. The problem is so intricate that no general rule can be framed to meet all the peculiarities connected with it.

Some suggestions for recognizing the era

There is, we presume, nothing wrong in making an attempt to find out or to frame some general rules for recognizing the eras, which are mentioned in various books, in numbers only, without any particular name being attached to them.

(A) In the first place (1) One should try to find out whether the name of any place is given or not, in connection with a particular number; (2) then one should find out, which were the dynasties which ruled over that place at different times; (3) then one must make an endeavour to find out, which of those dynasties had founded their own era and which of them used the era founded by their overlord, in case they were vassals under him.

(B) There are numerous ways of mentioning and using an era. This subject is a very intricate one and experts on eras should do all they can, to throw as much light upon it as is possible. We have ourselves come across many such methods. For example, writers have generally mentioned four details in connection with an era. They are:—the year, the season, the month and the date. Sometimes, the bright half or the dark half is also added to these details. Sometimes, any one or more are found to have been omitted. Sometimes again the "Purṇimānta" system is used and sometimes the "Āmāsānta". A study of these details in connection with the various traits of different families and races of rulers, goes a long way in helping to find out, to which era a particular number belongs.

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(76) In north India, the appellation was in vogue upto the 8th or 9th century A. D. In south India, on the other hand, it was in vogue upto the rule of the Chāulukya dynasty.

No era has presented as many difficulties to the Jaina writers as the Vikrama era. Some instances given below, will give the reader some idea of these difficulties.

Difficulties arising in connection with the Vikrama era

We have proved in the foregoing pages that Śakāri Vikramāditya belonged to the Gardabhīla dynasty. As a matter of fact, Gandharvasen was the founder of that dynasty. Some scholars however, hold the opinion, that because the Śaka rule intervened for some years between the end of the reign of Gandharvasen and the beginning of the reign of Vikramāditya, the Gardabhīla dynasty must bc considered to have begun from the year in which Vikramāditya ascended the thronc of Avantī. Holders of this opinion also advance the argument, that as far as the people were concerned, a new era–both in the literal and figurative sense of the term–began with the accession of Vikramāditya to the throne of Avantī and that the rule of dynasty continued uninterrupted only after that. According to these scholars, the Vikrama era was founded in 470 A. M. = 57 B. C., while according to the former school of thought, the same era can be said to have been founded in 453 A. M. = B. C. 74. These scholars, argue that though, no doubt, a new era began with the accesssion of Vikramāditya, the dynasty itself was founded by his father. They also argue that though several eras–the Chaṣṭhaṇa, the Ābhira, and the Gupta—were founded by the second or third king of the dynasty, yet they were all dated from the beginning of the rule of the first king of that dynasty. The same rule they say, should be applied to the Vikrama era. Over and above these two opinions, a third is also prevalent. The holders of this opinion say that, no doubt the era should be calculated from the first year of the rule of Gandharvasen, yet the intervening years of the Śaka rule should be omitted. According to some scholars moreover, the Śaka rule lasted for four years[77], while according

(77) Hemachandrāchārya, subscribes to this belief. (Vide Vol. I. pp. 195, f. n. no. 33, where the three verses enumerating the names of the dynasties that ruled over Avantī, are quoted).

to others, it lasted for seven years.[78] Hence the era must be dated either 13 years or 10 years prior to 57 B. C. This opinion is held by the Vedic writers. They however, have not made much use of the Vikrama era. The Jaina writers, on the other hand, mainly used the Vikrama era and they are not unanimous in dating it. Some have dated it from 57 B. C., some from 74 B. C. and some from 70 B. C. while others from 67 B. C. Some instances of confusions arising from such reckonings are given below. Jainism has two main sects, namely Śvetāmbar and Digambar. The monks of the Śvetāmbar sect held different titles such as Vāchak, Gaṇi, Upādhyāy, Mahopādhyāy, Sūri, Āchārya and Kṣamāśramaṇ, according to their learning and spiritual progress. In the period of which we have to give instances, there lived a great monk named Devaḍḍhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇ. It is said of him, that he got a large number of books written at Vallabhipur in Saurāṣṭra and distributed them among all the principal towns of India. Thus, he earned the merit of preserving knowledge, by getting it all written down in black and white. It is said that he did this in the year 510; but it is not known, to which era that number belongs. Later on, some scribe taking it for granted, that it represented a religious era, called it the Mahāvīra era. As a matter of fact however, the number belonged to the Gupta era which was at that time prevalent in Vallabhipur.[79]. This figure in terms of the Vikrama era would come to 510 + 375 = 885 (V. E.). The scribe who took it for granted, that it represented the Mahāvīra era[80], calculated it to 980 by adding 470 to 510. Those writers who believed the Vikrama era to have been begun from the year in which Gandharvasen came to the throne, added 17 years to this and got the number 997; while those who believed that the intervening four years of the Śaka rule should be omitted, added only 13 and got the number 993. Thus three numbers of the Mahāvīra era, namely 980, 993 and 997 have

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(78) This opinion is held by Vāyupurāṇ. (Pp. 332, f. n. no. 7 above).

(79) Read f. n. no. 73 (a) above.

(80) Read the previous pages.

been given in connection with one and the same event—the preservation of knowledge by putting it down in black and white by Devaḍḍigaṇi. The reader will see that these three numbers represent three different points of view and are correct enough, each in its own way. (Though really the time is 885 V. E. = 1355 M. E.) The same thing, as we have often shown, has happened in the case of the Purāṇas, in which the same thing is presented differently from different points of view.[81] Many instances of this kind are found in connection with the rule of the Śungas, because they were followers of the Vedic faith.

Now we turn to another instance. Just as the instance, we have already given, is in connection with the preservation of knowledge by getting it written down, so the instance, which we are now giving, is connected with the reading of what was written down. This event also took place in Saurāṣṭra. Kalpasūtra is a very sacred book of the Jains.[82] Upto a particular year, only the far-advanced monks were allowed to read it. In that year, the son of king Dhruvsen of Āṇandpur—Vardhdhamānpur—had died. The Jaina High Priest of that time read the Kalpasūtra publicly,[83] in order to relieve the mind of the bereaved king from sorrow and grief. This event took place in V. E. 980[84]; but, as we have already explained in the preceding paragraph, two other alternative dates can also be given by adding to it 13, and 17 respectively;

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(81) Many instances of this are found in the account of the Śunga dynasty. The Śungas were the followers of the Vedic religion. So all Purāṇas contain details about them.

(82) Some scholars are of the opinion that this number (980) represents the Mahāvīra era. For details about this read f. n. nos. 83 and 84 below.

(83) When did this event take place ? Who was king Dhruvasen ? Where was Ānandpur or Vardhdhamānpur situated ? Under whose rule was Saurāṣṭra at that time ? Answers to all these questions are given by me in the "Jaina Dharma Prakāś", Vol. 45, no. 5, pp. 161 to 174.

(84) Vide pp. 7 of the K. S. S. Probably it was stated in the original manuscript that the number belonged to the Vikrama era. Later on, a scribe must have written it down as representing the Mahāvīra era.

(i. e. 993 and 997). A confusion is very likely to arise in connection with the dates of this event and of the preceding one. We have shown above that the correct Vikrama year for the preceding event is 885, and the false dates for the same are 980, 993, and 997. These three dates, again, are the correct dates of the second event. So, one is likely to think mistakenly that both the events—and very important events at that in the history of Jainism—took place in the same year; while as a matter of fact, there is an interval of 95 years between them. (980 - 885 = 95[85].

Let us now take an instance from the Digambara sect. It has got four divisions or saṅghas. The name of one of them is Sarasvatī Saṅgh. In that Saṅgh the High Priests succeed one another in a particular manner. This succession is called the "Paṭṭāvalī" of the Sarasvati Saṅgh. In the account of this Paṭṭāvalī it is stated[86] that Vikram was anointed on the throne when he became eighteen years old.[87] Then it is said, that if his era is dated from the year of his birth, all the confusions would be done away with. We have, however, already explained how this difference of 17 or 18 years has taken place.

We finish here all the details about the Vikrama era, the Mahāvīra era, the Chedi era and the Kṣaharāṭa era. Now, in the next chapter, we shall deal with the Mālava era and the Śaka era, which have often been confused with the Vikrama era.

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(85) Read f. n. no. 82 above.

(86) Vide pp. 156 of "Jaina Kāla Gaṇanā" by Muni Kalyāṇavijayaji. (Printed in 1976). (This article has been published in "Nāgarī Prachāriṇi Sabhā's Patrikā" of Kāśi, Vol. X, Part IV).

(87) He came to the throne, not in the 18th year of his life (rather in the 18th year after the dynasty was founded by his father) but in the 24th or 25th. (Vide his account).



Chapter II

The various Eras (Contd.)

Synopsis:—*The origin of the Mālava era—Proofs in support of the fact, that it was different from the Vikrama era—Causes why the Vikrama era fell into disuse some time after its beginning—The wider and wider prevalence of the Mālava era—Its absorption in the Vikrama era—Some novel details about the Hūṇs.*

Śaka era:—Six different meanings of the term "Śaka," and difficulties arising from these various meanings—The founder of the Śaka era—The Śaka era in north India and the Śaka era in south India—Proofs, based on rock-inscriptions, coins and old literatures, to the effect that they were different from each other—Other peculiarities of the Śaka era.

Classification of the various eras—Peculiarities of each era—The three eras most in vogue at present and the method of transforming a number representing one of them, in the terms of the other two and vice versa—A delusion in connection with the Vikrama era and the Christian era.

(A) MĀLAVA ERA

The eras discussed in this chapter have little connection with the time-limit fixed for this book. Reasons, however, have already been stated, why we have decided to devote a separate chapter to them.

Origin of the Mālava era

The question of the origin of the Vikrama era has baffled not a small number of scholars. In fairness to them, we cannot help stating, that all of them were quite honest and sincere in their search for truth in connection with the era. It is but natural that they differed from one another. In spite of this vide divergence of opinions, however, they are all united by a common thread of contention that Śakāri Vikramāditya (whoever he was and whenever he lived) founded the Vikrama era, and that Hūṇāri Vikramāditya (No. 5 in the list given in the previous chapter) was the one, who rooted out the Hūṇs in A. D. 531=V. E. 598. He founded an era called the Mālava era[1] in commemoration of this event. Both Vikramādityas were rulers of Avantī; only, by the latter Vikramāditya's time, Avantī had begun to be called by a new name—Mālavā. Secondly, both were Kṣatriyas; but, while the former has stated merely that he was a Kṣatriya; the latter has made it expressly clear that he was " Rājput " of the Parmāra clan. In Hindu Śāstras, the first has always been referred to as "Avantipati" (king of Avantī), while the second has always been called "Mālavapati" (king of Mālvā)[2]. We also know that

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(1) Bhā. Prā. Rāj. Vol. II, pp. 386 and sequel.

Mr. Smith and Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar hold the opinion, that it was Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty, who revived the Vikrama era and supplanted the Mālava era. This Chandragupta, they believe, had assumed the name "Vikramāditya". This means that the Mālava era was started long before the time of Chandragupta and that he changed its name to Vikrama era. As a matter of fact, however, the Mālava era was started much long after the reign of Chandragupta. The Guptas, moreover, had started their own era. Why should, then, a Gupta king have given preference to the Vikrama era ?

(2) It is possible that just as the term "Rājput" originated from the term

the four Rājputa clans[3] (Parmār, Chauhāṇ, Chaulukya or Solanki[4] and Pratihār or Parihār) came into being about this time[5]. Each clan established its power over a separate territory. Henceforth the Kṣatriyas began to call themselves " Rājputs"[6]. (The off-springs or the descendants of the ruling dynasty.)

Further details about the Parmāra clan

The Parmārs had established their power in Mālvā, and were, on that account, called ' Mālavapatis' (Lord of Mālvā). We know that, five centuries ago, the people of Avantī unanimously and whole-heartedly conferred on Vikramāditya, the title " Śakāri " because he rooted out the Śakas from Avantī[7]. Yaśodharman, the Parmāra king of Mālvā, liberated the people of Avantī (now called Mālvā) from the cruel rule of the Hūṇs. He was, therefore, called by the people, " Hūṇāri Vikramāditya." In commemoration of the extirpation of the Śakas, was founded the Vikrama era; and in commemoration of the rooting out of the Hūṇs, was started the Mālava era.

Ujjaini enjoyed a unique position in ancient India, in many points, most of which we have already noted in the foregoing pages. Of the four Rājputa clans, those three who established their power in north India, retained and continued the Mālva era. The

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"Kṣatriya", so also the terms "Mārwāḍ", "Mewāḍ" and "Mālwā" may have originated and come into being at this time. (Read the f. n. below).

(3) For details about these four clans, vide pp. 318 and sequel and the last pages of Part IX in Vol. IV.

(4) Probably the Chaulukyas are different from the Solankīs. The former always use the Śaka era, while the latter do not. There is also little resemblance between their pronunciations and scripts. Probably the Solankīs are a distant branch of the Chaulukyas. There are more points of divergences than of resemblances between the two. (Pp. 319–320 and footnotes).

(5) Pp. 318 and sequel. The time stated by me there, is A. D. 533. Further research work tells me that the time was A. D. 531.

(6) Read f. n. no. 2 above.

(7) For details, vide the account of the Gardabhīla dynasty.

fourth[8] clan–the Chāulukyas–went southwards and established their rule there. They adopted the Chāulukya era which was in vogue there[9].

The Vikrama era, as we know, was started in Avantī. It remained in vogue for the next two centuries (i. e. upto 150 A. D.[10]. Then the Chaṣṭhaṇa kṣatraps became the rulers of Avantī[11]. They started their own era, which we shall call the Chaṣṭhaṇa era[12]. After their rule ended, the throne of Avantī[13] was occupied by the Guptas in 319 A. D. They founded their own era, called the Gupta era. Several years before the end of that dynasty–i. e. in the last quarter of the fifth century and in the first quarter of the sixth century–the Hūṇs had established their power over all the region around Avantī. They longed to bring Avantī under their rule. Before, however, they could realize their ambition, the four Kṣatriya clans, who had recently been created from fire, attacked and drove them out. Yaśodharman[14], the chief of the

(8) This shows that the contention that the Chaulukyas were one of the four Fire clans is not correct. (Pp. 319 and sequel). Read also f. n. no. 9 below.

(9) This proves that the Śaka era had long since been in existence. It also shows that the Chaulukyas had settled there since long.

(10) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIV, pp. 22; Vide also the "Panchāng" for S. E. 1800, pp. 2, by Gaṇpat Kṛṣṇāji. It is stated therein, that the era continued to be in vogue for 135 years. This contention is based on the theory, that the Śaka era was founded by the Chaṣṭhaṇa kṣatraps and that their rule began in A. D. 78. (For correct details about the origin of the Śaka era, read further in this chapter).

(11) Scholars generally hold the opinion, that the Chaṣṭhaṇa era was founded in A. D. 78. I have reasons to differ from them. I believe that the era was started in about A. D. 150. For further details, vide the account of the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty in the next volume.

(12) The nomenclature is used by me only. The reason for doing so, is that the time of its origin is quite different from that of the Śaka era. (Read f. n. nos. 10 and 11 above). The name has been given to distinguish it from the Śaka era. It has been based upon the name of its founder.

(13) A synopsis of the accounts of all the dynasties that ruled over Avantī is given at the end of chapter IX in next volume.

(14) The literal meaning of the word is, "One whose sacred duty is to acquire fame". For details about him vide Vol. I, pp. 187.

Parmāra clan, ascended the throne of Avantī. He had a keen desire to revive the Vikrama era, because Vikramāditya had, under similar circumstances, freed the people of Avantī from the cruel yoke of the Śakas. That era had long since fallen into disuse, because each new dynasty, that established its power over Avantī, founded its own era and consequently, supplanted the previous era. On second thoughts, however, he decided to found a separate era in his own name and in commemoration of the victory achieved by him. Thus came the Mālava era into being. As, however, both the eras were founded in the same place, under similar circumstances, and by persons having almost the same name, many confusions have arisen, as a result of which, events connected with the one are ascribed to the other and vice versa.

The people of Avantī, however, thought the other way. They wanted to revive the era of their former liberator. The other two Rājputa clans, who had settled in the north India, felt jealous of Yaśodharman and saw no justice in the founding of an era by him, commemorating himself alone, for a victory in the achievement of which, they had played no small part. This gave rise to the fear of dissensions[15] among those three clans. So, probably the rulers of each clan, conferred with one another for a common formula. They must have decided that the Mālava era was to be discontinued and the Vikrama era was to be revived. This wise decision points to the fact, that the kings who came to it, must have been foresighted and well-educated.[16] One such trio

(15) This state of affairs must have come into being nearly 250 years after the founding of the Mālava era. The Mahomedan invasions over India had already begun by that time.

(16) For proof about this, see the dynastic lists given on pp. 187. Vol. I. It will be seen that Devaśakti, the fifth Paramāra king of Avantī and Yaśovarman, the Parihāra king of Gwāliar, were contemporaries. In the same way, Bhojdev, the 9th Paramāra king was a contemporary of his namesake, who was on the throne of Gwāliar.

Thus in the two clans out of three, it happened twice, that both had wise and foresighted kings on the throne at the same time.

lived in 750 A. D.[17], while another lived in 875 A. D. or there about. No details are available about the former trio. Of the second trio, however, two are well-known. One was Bhojdev Parmār alias Śilāditya alias Prātapśil, the king of Avantī, and the second was his name-sake Bhojdev Pratihāri, the king of Gwaliar.[18] Both of them were learned and always patronized and encouraged[19] learned men-Indian as well as foreign. We do not know, who was on the throre of Ajmer, where the Chauhāṇs, the third clan, had established their power. He must also have

The Mālava era was supplanted by the Vikrama era only after the time of Devaśakti and Yaśovarman, or of the Bhojdevs. For instances in proof of this read further.

(17) Scholars tell us, that the Vikrama era has been found to have been used in the rock-inscriptions, only after this time. According to the Archeological Report, Vol. II, pp. 68, the earliest mention of the Vikrama era has been as late as A. D. 754. (V. E. 811). Somewhat contradictorily, it has been stated on pp. 266-68 of the same report, that the first mention has been found to be somewhat later; i. e. in A. D. 769=V. E. 826. According to Bhā. Prā. Rāj. Vol. II, pp. 386 and Indian Antiquary Vol. XIX, pp. 35. (See the rock-inscription at Dhaulpur by Mahāsen Chauhāṇ), its first mention was dated A. D. 840=V. E. 897. Again, it is stated in I. A. Vol. XIX, pp. 35, that the earliest mention was made in A. D. 739=V. E. 794. (Read text concerning f. n. no. 59, pp. 420 above).

(18) Bhojdev of the Pratihāra dynasty was, as a matter of fact, the king of Gwāliar. Scholars have always called him the king of Kanoj. Below are stated true details in connection with this erroneous conception.

Emperor Harṣavardhan of the Parihāra dynasty, had his throne in Kanoj: He had one elder brother and one sister. Both Harṣavardhan and his elder brother died without leaving any male issue behind them. So their sister came to throne. This sister was married with Gṛhavarman, the Pratihāra king of Gwāliar. Consequently Gṛhavarman, who belonged to the Maukhari clan, came to the throne of Kanoj also. Bhojdev of the Pratihāra dynasty, was the fourth or the fifth descendant of Gṛhavarman. (See the dynastic list on pp. 187, Vol. I. Due to, however, similarity in the names of the dynasty, due to contemporaneity of the kings and due to identity in the name of kings, scholars have confused both the Bhojdevs with each other).

(19) Due to reasons stated above, actions done by the Pratihāra Bhojdev have been ascribed to the Paramāra one and vice versa.

been, if not learned, at least a practical-minded person and must have thought it better, to consent to the decision arrived at by the other two, rather than to oppose it and create two strong enemies in place of two strong allies. Thus must have been revived the Vikrama era[20]. It is however, common sense to believe that the Mālava era must have remained in vogue, even some time after this decision was made. No era can be abruptly and absolutely stopped. In course of time, however, it was completely supplanted by the Vikrama era, which is in full force upto the present day.

These are my ideas about the origin of the Mālava era, and about the relation between the Mālava era and the Vikrama era.[21]

Some scholars hold the opinion, that the Mālava era and the Vikrama era are but two different names of the same era[22]. One of them says:-" The former name of the Malava era must have been the Vikrama era. In dating events, however, no name must have been mentioned. Simply the general term "Samvat" (era) must have been prefixed to the number. The king of Mālava must have assumed the name 'Vikramaditya' in commemoration of his victory"[23]. In short, the writer means that the term "Malava" was prefixed to the Vikrama era, which was founded long ago and which, generally, was mentioned by the term " Samvat " (era), "Vikrama" being commonly omitted. This erroneous conception is due to the fact, that both Śakāri Vikramāditya and Yaśodharman ruled over the same country-Mālvā, though at quite different times. We have proved, in the foregoing pages, that the two eras are entirely different from each other and have been

(20) For examples of this, read f. n. no. 17 above and pp. 420, f. n. nos. 55 and 56.

(21) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, pp. 145:—"The Vikrama Samvat does not, strange to say, appear to have been adopted till after the 10th century". (For proof, read f. n. no. 17 above and also cf. f. n. no. 9, pp. 402).

(22) Vide I. A. Vol. XIX, pp. 316.

(23) Nā. Pra. Sabhā Patrikā, Vol. X, Part IV, pp. 736, f. n. no. 108.

founded by different persons at different times in commemoration of different events. Again, why should the Parmārs prefix the term "Mālava" to the Vikrama era? No other rulers of Avantī ever followed the practice. The Kṣaharāṭas, the Guptas and others never did such an absurd thing. They all started eras in their names and had nothing to do with the Vikrama era. All of them, be it noted were the rulers of Mālavā. In short, we come to the logical conclusion that the Vikrama era and the Mālava era were quite different from each other.

(B) THE SAKA ERA

We have already stated above, that a disquisition on the Śaka era was necessary because many misconceptions prevail about it and give rise to many confusions. It is much older than the Mālava era. Its very name[24] has been so unfortunate that it has often been confounded with the Vikrama era and thus has given rise to a long trail of confusions worse confounded[25]. These are the reasons, why we have thought it proper to give some details about it, though the era itself is partly within the time-limit fixed for this book.

Its meaning

The term "Śaka" has been taken by scholars to mean literally the era of that name. Sometimes, it has been taken to mean the Vikrama era. It has been also found to have been prefixed to numbers representing various eras. In such cases it means 'Era'. The various meanings of the term are given below.

(1) Śaka = The era or the "Epoch." It has been used to denote "The Epoch or the Era" in general, but not the particular "Śaka era". The following verse will make it clear:—

Yudhiṣṭhiro, Vikrama Śālivāhanan
tato nṛpah syādvijayābhinandanaha

(24) Details about the meaning of the term "Śaka" have been given later on. They will make clear the meaning of the remark made above.

(25) Sometimes it is taken to mean the "Vikrama era" and hence many confusions arise. The above terminology has been adopted for distinguishing the one from the other. (Read further for instances of this).

tatastu Nāgārjuna bhūpatihi
kalau Kalkī ṣaḍete Śakakārakāhā smṛtāhā[26]

" The following kings will flourish in the Kali age: Yudhiṣṭhir, Vikram, Śalivāhan; and later on, Vijayābhinandan, Nāgārjun and Kalkī. Each will found an era in his own name." The reader will see that the term " Śakakārak " in the above verse means " founder of an era ". Many instances of this kind can be given. Some of them are given on pp. 426–27.

(2) The term " Śaka " has been sometimes taken to mean, "The Vikrama era" In this connection Sir Cunningham states[27]: " In the Śaka year twelve hundred and seventy five called Chitrabhanu, in the light fortnight of Margashirsha, its fifth day and Saturday ": Many scholars have come to the conclusion that the number 1275 in the above inscription represents the Śaka era and have translated it, in terms of the Christian era as 1275 + 78 = 1353 A. D. They have done so, because the term " Śaka year " is clearly mentioned in the inscription. Sir Cunningham differs from these scholars and says:–" Nothing can apparently be clearer than this date, which corresponds to A. D. 1353; and yet it is absolutely certain, that the word Saka cannot be intended for the Śaka era, as the name of Chitrabhanu, which is the 16th year of the Jovian Cycle, corresponds exactly with 1275 Vikramaditya ". In f. n. 21 on the same page, he further states, "I have since found an inscription dated in Vikrama Saka". All this makes it crystal clear that the term "Śaka" has been used here to mean the Vikrama era.

(3) It also means " The era founded by the king named "Śālivāhan"[28]. This is an independent era and the term "Śaka" represents it. When used in this sense, it has no connection with any other era. Neither does it then mean simply "era". In

(26) Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X, pp. 128.

(27) Vide pp. 21 of "Book of Ancient Eras" by Sir Cunningham; vide also Bengal Asiatic Society Journal, No. 28, pp. 4, 5; (Dr. Hall).

(28) We shall discuss in the next volume, whether the usage " Śaka Śālivāhan" is proper or not.

this connection, a scholar says[29]:—"The dates of the western Kṣatraps are actually recorded in the years of the Saka era beginning in 78 A. D.[30] There can be no possible doubt".

(4) It also means "The era started by the Śakas or the era which the Śakas used." It may mean the era of the Saka-nation themselves, or the era used by the nation who call themselves Śakas[31]. "But whatever their nationality may have been, it seems extremely probable that in later times, they (western kshatrapas)[32] are actually called "Sakas" and it may be suggested that the name which was generally accepted at a later date for the era used by them, may not have been derived from the fact that, it was originally founded by a Saka king, as is generally assumed, but from the fact that, it became best known in northern India, as the era which was used for so long a period by these Saka kings (Saka—Nrupa-kala)". In short, the writer means that the race to which Chaṣṭhaṇa Kṣatrap belonged was called "Saka", and so the era used by these Śakas was called the "Śaka era". The era may have been founded by the Śaka king; or it may have derived its name from its long-term use by the Śakas. The latter conclusion, according to the writer, is the more probable of the two. We deduce from this, that the era had some connection with the Śakas.

(5) The term "Śaka-Nṛpa-Kāla" has been used in connection with the era[33]. The term is capable of various meanings: (a) The era founded by the king of the Śakas. The king in question may

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(29) Vide C. A. R. Intro. para. 83; J. R. A. S. 1899, pp. 365.

(30) Scholars hold the opinion that the era which was founded by the Western Kṣatraps was begun in A. D. 78. This opinion is ill-founded. The point is discussed in details in the next Part. The example given here is meant to show that the term "Śaka" was used in the general sense "Era".

(31) Vide C. A. R. para 84.

(32) Scholars hold the opinion that the Chaṣṭhaṇas belonged to the Śaka race. As a matter of fact however, they were not Śakas at all. We have referred to this in the foregoing pages. (Vide the account of Nahapāṇ). Full details will be given in the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ. I have not raised this point here because we are not concerned with it at present.

(33) Read the extract quoted above.

have been himself a Śaka or may not have been one. Probably he was not. Thus the meaning would be " The era founded by a king, who ruled over the Śakas". (b) The era founded by a king, who himself belonged to the Śaka race. It does not, however, necessarily mean that the people over whom he ruled were Śakas. Most probably they were not. (c) It may simply mean " In a particular year of a king". The number stated then means, "So many years after the Coronation of that king".

Briefly stated, the term "Śaka" is capable of six interpretations–

(1) An era of that name (No. 3).
(2) The era adopted by the Śakas (No. 4 & 5, a).
(3) The era founded by the Śakas (No. 5, b).
(4) An era (any era) (No. 1).
(5) A year (any year of any king's reign) (No. 5, c).
(6) Vikrama era (No. 2).

Who was the founder of the Śaka era?

The six meanings given above will help us to a certain extent in finding out an answer to the querry made here. Nos. 2 and 3 show, that it had connection with the Śakas. According to Nos. 4 and 1, it may have had simply meant an "era" or a particular era. No. 5 tells us that it simply means " a particular date in the reign of a king"; while, according to No. 6 it denotes the Vikrama era. Of these meanings, No. 6 has been discussed in details in the previous chapter. No useful purpose will be served by discussing No. 5.

Let us first discuss Nos. 2 and 3. We have proved in the preceding chapters, that the Śakas were one of the foreign invaders of India. For the sake of clarity, we have divided them into two classes, viz, the Śakas (the Scythians) and the Indo–Scythians. The former ruled in India for 7 to 7½ years only[34]; while the rule of the latter lasted for 22 years[35]. It is not thus probable, that during such short periods of rule, there could have been any Śaka ruler, powerful and mighty enough to found a long–lasting

(34) Vide ante the Inter–regnum, Chapter II.

(35) See the dynastic list facing pp. 369.

and widely prevalent era. We have however to note the fact, that the rule of both the Śakas and the Indo-Scythians was over before the founding of the Christian era. Is it not then probable, that fresh Śaka hordes invaded India and established their rule in it, in the first century A. D. or there after? Many scholars hold the theory, that foreign rulers like Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ, Rājuvul, Soḍās, Liak and Pātik (who were truly speaking Kṣaharāṭas), and like Mauses, Aziz I, Azilises, Aziz II and Goṇḍofarnes (who were Indo-Pārthians), were all Śakas. We have to bear this in mind, while investigating into the origin of the Śaka era.

The foreigners who established their power in India in the first century A. C. or thereafter, were the Kuśans and the Chaṣṭhaṇas. Details about both will be given later on. We may simply state here, that neither of the two can be called Śakas in any sense of the term. Scholars have however, committed the same mistake which they did in connection with the Kṣaharāṭas and the Indo-Pārthians, and have called these both Śakas. We have examined below the whole thing in details.

It is stated on pp. 33 of I. A. Vol. 33, "Prof. Oldenberg put forth the statement that Kanishka founded the Saka Era; this theory has been generally accepted by the majority of Oriental scholars."

Another scholar states the same opinion more clearly as follows[36]:—"Four different theories prevail about the origin of the Śaka era; (a) some scholars say that it was founded by Turuṣka or Kaniṣka of the Kuśana dynasty; (his publication Vol. I, pp. 3); (b) according to others Kṣatrap Nahapāṇ founded it; (c) while still others ascribe it to either Venski, a Śaka king (d) or to Aziz, another Śaka king." In the light of information at hand, we cannot help saying that all the four theories are void of truth. We shall prove later on, that the Kuśāns were quite a different race from the Śakas. Nahapāṇ was decidedly a Kṣaharāṭ. As regards Venski, we have to state that the name itself is not found to have been mentioned in any historical treatise, worth

(36) Vide "Bhāratno Prāchīn Rājvaṁś", Part I, pp. 5.

the name. Probably, the writer means Vimā Kadaphisis. If that is so, we might merely add, that he was also a **Kuśān**. The last one–Aziz–was, as we have already proved, an Indo–Pārthian. Thus, none of the four theories hold water.

We now turn to that venerable and veteran student of ancient Indian history—Sir Cunningham. He also holds the opinion that the Śaka era was founded by Kaniṣka of the Kuśāna dynasty. Mr. Vincent Smith, on the other hand, differs from him and states[37]:—" I do not affirm as a fact the theory that the Śaka era of A. D. 78 was established by Kaniṣka." Leaving aside other points raised in this statement, we glean the fact that Kaniṣka was not the founder of the Śaka era. The extracts quoted above show, that though many scholars subscribe to the opinion that the Śaka era was founded by a king of the **Kuśāna** dynasty, yet they are doubtful whether the Kuśāns were Śakas or not. Mr. Rapson, on the other hand, plainly states[38]:—" One of the main objections brought against the theory, that the Śaka era was founded by Kanishka was, that Kanishka was not a Saka but a Kushan."

[Note:—In other words, Mr. Rapson objects to the theory that a **Kuśāna** king should have founded the era presumably connected with the Śakas. Kaniṣka, however, may have started his own era and by some inexplicable perversity, the era may have been named " The Śaka era ". It is quite certain, that about this time a new era was started either by the **Kuśāns** or by Chaṣṭhaṇas (Vide the previous pages). It is another matter, whether that era was started in 78 A. D. or somewhat earlier or later. We must bear in mind however, that though this era was named the Śaka, it does not, in any way, mean that it had any connection with the Śakas themselves—either rulers or subjects.]

These are my views on the Śaka era, that was prevalent in North India. Details about the Śaka era which was, and is still,

(37) Vide E. H. I. Edi. III, pp. 254.

(38) Vide C. A. R. para 85.

in use in South India, will be given in the account of the Āndhras. It will now be clear to readers, that there are two separate eras, bearing the same name and that they were (and one of them still is) prevalent in different parts of India.

Whenever we come across the term " Śaka era " we at once think of the era of the same name that was prevalent in south India. The Śaka era is found to have been mostly used by the Brahmins, who have stated in their books that there elapsed a period of 135 years, between the inception of the Vikrama era and that of the Śaka era[39]. We know that the Vikrama era began 57 years before the Christian era,[40] and that the Śaka era began 78 years after the Christian era. Hence Mr. Rapsoncorrectly says[41] " The Saka era began in A. D. 78. There can be no possible doubt about it." This is quite true[42]. It is also stated in Jaina books[43]:— " The Śaka king will flourish 605 years and 5 months after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr ". Other books also support this statement[44]. During the time of Yati Ṛṣabh, the following three beliefs were prevalent:—

The time of its origin & other peculiarities

(1) The Śaka king flourished 9785 years and 5 months after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr.

(2) The Śaka king flourished 14793 years and 5 months after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr.

(3) The Śaka king flourished 605 years and 5 months after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr.

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(39) Ante. pp. 330, f. n. no. 3.

(40) Vide the chapter on the Vikrama era; read also the account of Vikramāditya.

(41) Vide C. A. R. para 83; J. R. A. S. 1899, pp. 365.

(42) We have to bear in mind, that he has made the above statement in order to express the opinion of all scholars of note. The general opinion among the scholars is, that the same era was in use in both North and South India.

(43) Nā. Pra. Patrikā, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 722–23; vide also "Tiloksār" by Nemichandraji and "Tiloyapannati" by Yati Ṛṣabhadatta.

(44) Nā. Pra. Vol. X, No. 4, pp. 732, f. n. no. 4.

With the first two kings we are not concerned here. We are concerned with the third Śaka king only. Now, Mahāvīr died 470 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era. (i. e. in 470+57= 527 B. C.[45]). 605 years after Mahāvīr's Nirvāṇ means in the 135th (605–470=135) year of the Vikrama era, and in the 78th (605–527=78) year of the Christian era. In short, the Vedic books, the Jaina books and other reliable sources are unanimous about the fact, that the Śaka era was founded in A. D. 78. (=135 V. E. or 605 M. E.). This era was prevalent in south India.

We now turn to its namesake, which was prevalent in north India. In the foregoing paragraph we have proved that it was started by either the Kuśāns or the Chaṣṭhaṇs. We have also stated that two eras bearing the same name were prevalent in different parts of India—one in north India and one in south India. We shall later on discuss, whether they were the names of the same era or whether they were two separate eras having different origins and different founders. In f. n. no. 46, pp. 309, we have clearly stated that the era was founded, not in 78 A. D., but in 103 A. D. If we can prove that the era which was prevalent in south India was founded in 78 A. D., and the era which was prevalent in north India was founded in 103 A. D., it automatically becomes established, that they were two different eras, having naturally different founders. We have however, yet to prove this contention. We shall do so later on. In connection with this point, a writer[46] quoted Dr. Keilhorn and says:—"According to Dr. Keilhorn himself, the solar month[47] is also used in Saka dates (first appears so late, as in the year 944 = A. D. 1022[48])...It may be said that the use of the lunar month

(45) Vide Vol. II, Chap. I.

(46) Vide I. A. Vol. 37, pp. 46.

(47) The solar month begins from the first of the dark half of a month; while the lunar month begins from the first of the bright half of a month. (For further details vide pp. 374, f. n. no. 34).

(48) So far as I understand, the solar system is of a very old origin. Like the Vikrama era, it also fell into disuse later on (pp. 440). It must have been, again like it, begun to be expressed later on—say from V. E. 944. (Cf. infra. f. n. no. 51).

-dates in Sakaera, is the result of its long residence in southern India, and that the use of the solar month-names, is the result of its northern and civic origin; or may it not be that the Buddhists of the earlier centuries of the Christian era used solar months in the reckonings, while the Brahmins used the lunar months, as their religious ceremonies and festivals are always with Tithis and Pakshas." We deduce the following conclusions from this extract. (1) The solar month is used in the Śaka era. (2) The reason of the use of the lunar month in it, is its long-time prevalence in the south India. (3) The Brahmins of south India used the lunar month in dating their religious rites with Tithis and Pakṣas. (4) The Buddhists that lived in the 1st century A. D. or thereabout used the solar month in their books. (5) Because the system of using the solar month originated in north India. Points, other than those with which we are concerned here, will be discussed in a "Note" later on. We deduce one important conclusion that the system of using the solar month was in vogue in north India and that of using the lunar month was in use in south India. This shows that events were differently[49] dated in the two parts of India. Moreover, there elapsed a period of 25 years between the origins of these two eras. In short, there were two different eras[50] having the same name. They were founded at different times by different persons, and were in use in different parts of India.

The era in north India was founded either by the Kuśānas or by the Chaṣṭhaṇas. It continued to be in use—with slight changes—for some time. We do not know exactly, how long it continued to be in use.[51] It is certain however, that it is no longer in use at present. The Śaka era that is in use to-day originated in

(49) The same opinion has been stated by Sir Cunningham in his "The Book of Indian Eras" pp. 31.

(50) Read f. n. no. 52 below.

(51) According to Dr. Keilhorn, its mention was first found in V. E. 944. We have stated here however, that the method was in use as early as the rule of the Kuśāns. We do not know what happened to it in the intervening period. Further research work will, I hope, throw light on the point.

south India, and is to-day in vogue there. The method of lunar months is used in it. It was founded by the Śatvāhana dynasty of Āndhra kings.[52] It had nothing to do with the Kuśānas or with the Chasṭhaṇas.[53]

[Note:—We now turn to the other points raised in the extract quoted above. In the first place, Dr. Keilhorn says, that the Buddhists used this era in north India and used the system of solar months. In the account of emperor Priyadarśin (Vol. II), we have proved, that he was quite a different individual from Aśok. We have also proved, that most of the inscriptions which the scholars have ascribed to Aśok, are as a matter of fact, connected with his grandson and successor, Priyadarśin. Aśok was a Buddhist, while Priyadarśin was a staunch Jain. Hence, the inscriptions contain Jaina doctrines and not Buddhist doctrines, as many scholars mistakenly believe they do. In support of this, we have given many facts (Chap. I) in the accounts of Mahāvīr and Buddha in the same Volume. The evidence of coins (Chaps. II and III of the same Volume) is wholly in favour of the same contention. So, the system of using the solar month, which Dr. Keilhorn has ascribed to Buddhism is, as a matter of fact, connected with Jainism. The following points are stated in support of this.

(1) The Buddhist generally used the Buddha era. They merely stated the number of the year. They seldom mentioned details like season, month, date etc. No definite mention is made of the solar system of months. Jaina books, on the other hand, contain frequent definite mention of this system.

(2) On the evidence supplied by inscriptions, we have proved on pp. 352 & seq. Appendix B, Vol. II, that the Chasṭhaṇa kṣatraps were Jains. An extract is quoted there from Mr. Rapson, who emphatically declares the same thing. They had adopted the solar method because it was in use in Jainism.

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(52) The Śātvāhan kings who founded this era, were followers of the Vedic religion. (Vide their account. Dr. Keilhorn is of the same opinion). The Śaka era, on the other hand, which was prevalent in north India, was Jaina in origin, because its founders, the Kuśāns, were Jains.

(53) Read f. n. no. 52 above.

(3) Coins also definitely prove that Chaṣṭhaṇ was a Jain. (Vol. II, Chap. III).

Some one might doubt the authenticity of the fact that foreigners like Chaṣṭhaṇas and Kuśānas should have so staunchly taken to Jainism. In reply to this, we have to state simply that at the time with which we are concerned here (1st century A. D.), only three religions were prevalent in the whole known world—the Vedic religion, Buddhism and Jainism. Christianity was in its infancy, and was still practically confined to Syriā and Pālestine, the place of its origin. Except during the brilliant reign of Aśok, Buddhism had not exercised any noteworthy influence at any time or in any part of India. The Vedic religion had its bright days during the rule of the Śungas. In ancient times, no religion was as powerful or as prevalent as Jainism. It had stretched itself far and wide and had millions and millions of people under its broad and soothing wings. Priyadarśin, the staunch Jaina emperor, had sent missionaries to the most distant parts of the earth to spread the gospel of Jainism there. He himself had conducted invasions over Nepāl, Tibeṭ, Khoṭān, Asian Turkey and many other distant lands, had conquered those countries and had spread the Jaina gospel there. During his lifetime, he had appointed his son, Jālauk[54], as the governor of Kāśmir, his son-in-law, Devpāl, as the governor of Nepāl and his another son, Kusthan[55], as the governor of Tibeṭ. After his death, all the three declared themselves as independent rulers of the territories over which they were appointed as governors. This took place in about B. C. 200. The home of the Kuśāns was Tibeṭ—Khoṭān. They came to India in about 1st century A. D. Naturally, they must have had a strong inclination towards Jainism which was prevalent in their native place only a century ago. All these are facts based on the irrefutable evidence of coins and inscriptions. Scholars like Mr. Rapson, an expert in coins, subscribe to the same opinion. The inscription of Rudradāman, the grandson of Chaṣṭhaṇ, proves the same thing. He got his inscription written on the same slab on

(54) Read the appendix on Jālauk in Vol. II.

(55) Vol. II, account of Priyadarśin.

which Priyadarśin got his, at the foot of Mt. Girnār, a holy place of the Jains. He must have done so with the ambition of being ranked with Priyadarśin. Secondly, Dr. Keilhorn states that the difference in dating events in north, and south India is due to the influence of Brahmins. Of course, the Vedic religion might have exerted some influence over the era, but the extent of that influence was not so wide or so entire as is maintained by Dr. Keilhorn. He seems, to have done so, in order to confirm to the general theory, that the same era was prevalent in both parts of India.]

We have given below a table of the eras we have discussed in these chapters:—

No.	Name	Founder	The date of founding	Other details
1	Mahāvīra era	People	527 B. C.	In commemoration of Mahāvīr's Nirvāṇ.
2	Buddhist era	People	520 B. C.	In commemoration of Buddha's Nirvāṇ.
3	Kṣaharāṭa era	Nahapāṇ	159 B. C.	The year in which his father Bhūmak became Mahākṣatrap.
4	Kuśāna era	Kaniṣka I	A. D. 103[56]	The year in which he came to the throne.
5	Chaṣṭhaṇa era	Chaṣthaṇ	A. D. 103	Though the era was founded by Chaṣṭhaṇ, yet it was dated from the first year of the reign of Ghṣamotik, his father, who was a kṣatrap. The same thing happened with the Traikuṭakas. (Pp. 312).
6	Christian era	People	A. D. 1	3¼ years after the birth of Jesus Christ.
7	Vikrama era	People	57 B. C.	From the year in which Śakāri Vikramāditya ascended the throne.
8	Mālava era	Rajputs	A.D.531-	The year in which they came to power after the extirpation of the Hūṇas.
9	Śaka era	People & King	A. D. 78	The reason is half-religious[56].

(56) Details will be given in their account.

We have given separate accounts of the various eras. Now we shall consider certain points which are common to all.

The different eras —a comparison

The eras with which we are concerned here are: (1) Mahāvīra. (2) Kṣaharāṭa. (3) Vikrama. (4) Mālava. (5) Kuśāna (6) Chaṣṭhaṇa; and (7) Śaka Śālivāhan. The eighth era—the Buddhist—has not been mentioned in any coin or in any inscription. It does not also seem to have been adopted by any king. One expects, that some mention of it must be found in connection with the reign of Aśok, the staunch upholder of Buddhism. No coin or no inscription of Aśok, however, has yet been found out in support of this. It is found to have been in use in Buddhist books and legends.

We now turn to the circumstances, in which each of the above eras was founded. The Mahāvīra era was founded in commemoration of the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr; and so was Buddha era founded in commemoration of the Parinirvāṇ of Buddha. Undoubtedly, therefore, they were founded in connection with the most sacred and most revered events. The Mālava era, strictly speaking, was not founded within the time-limit fixed for this book. It has been discussed above, in order to clarify details about the Vikrama era.

Of the remaining five eras, the Śaka era was founded in south India by Śālivāhan.[57] An account of that dynasty will be given in the next volume. Some scholars are of the opinion, that it had a religious origin, while some others believe that it was founded due to political exigencies. These latter scholars believe, that it was founded in commemoration of the extirpation of the Śakas by Gautamīputra Śātakaraṇi, the son of Queen Balaśrī[58]. The opinion also exists that it was founded in celebration of the

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(57) In the next Vol. in which their account is given, it will be discussed whether the usage "Śaka Śālivāhan" is proper or not.

(58) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, pp. 145. Dr. Bhau Dāji states there:—"Gautamīputra, the son of Padumavi and king of Dakshinapatha or the Deccan, boasts of having destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas etc".

The Nāśik inscription by Queen Balaśrī contains the account in the same strain.

change of the seat[59] of capital to Paiṭhaṇ, which was the original seat of capital. In the account of the dynasty, we shall prove that both these theories, which advocate a political origin for the era, are ill-founded. The theory, on the other hand, that the era has a religious origin, seems to contain some grains of truth, though, perhaps, not all.[60].

We now turn to the remaining four eras. All of them were founded in commemoration of a happy turn of events.[61] Either a king ascended on the throne or performed a marvellous feat of valour. That era must be considered to have the best origin, which was founded by the people themselves, in commemoration of an event connected with the life of their king, because it proves, that the king was the most beloved by his people and did all he could to make them happy. Judged from this view-point, the Vikrama era can be said to have the best origin. It was voluntarily and enthusiastically started by the people themselves. The remaining three were founded, more or less directly or indirectly by the kings themselves. Consequently, they fell into disuse, when the rule of those kings or that of their dynasties ended. The Vikrama era is in full vogue to this day. So is the Śaka era, which was founded in south India; which leads us to believe that it must have a semi-religious origin.[62]

Thus, we establish that the Vikrama era has the best origin and the Śaka era has the next best. We have refrained from giving any judgement on the Christian era because, at the time with which we are concerned here, it was not in use in any part of India. Some references to it are, however, made in the following paragraphs.

In this paragraph we shall discuss the eras which are in general use to-day. The Kṣaharāṭa, the Mālava, the Kuśāna and Chaṣṭhāṇa

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(59) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928, New edi. Vol. III, the article by Mr. Bakhle. He has laid special emphasis on this point.

(60) Read f. n. no. 62 below.

(61) For details about the circumstances under which these four eras were founded, vide the accounts of the kings connected with them.

(62) Read f. n. no. 60 above.

eras are no more existent to-day. The Buddhist era and the Śaka era of the south also are not prevalent at present in many parts of India.

We have discussed it in details in the fore-going paragraphs simply because many misconceptions prevail in connection with it among the scholars.

Of the three remaining eras which are in use at present, the first and the most ancient is the Mahāvīra era. The second is the Vikrama era and the third is the Christian era. The Vikrama era was founded 470 years after the Mahāvīra era; and the Christian era was founded 56¾[63] years after Vikrama era. The Mahāvīra era dates from the death of Mahāvīr[64], the Vikrama era dates from the year in which Vikramāditya ascended the throne[65] and the Christian era was founded four years after the birth of Jesus Christ[66].

Dating of events in various eras

We now enter into minuter details about them. According to Jaina books, Mahāvīr died on the last day of the dark half of Kārtik. So, the new year of that era begins on the 1st of the bright half of Kārtik, because the dark half of the month preceded the bright half of the same month. Had it not been so, the last day of the dark half of Aśvin might have been taken as the day on which Mahāvīr died.[67] The new year of the Vikrama era also begins on the 1st of the bright half of Kārtik; but we should remember that in connection with this era,

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(63) It is stated on pp. 8 of Sir Cunningham's "Book of Indian Eras", "The initial point of this (Vikrama) era ought to be P. C. 57 or 56¾ instead of B. C. 56".

(64) Vide preceding chapter. Vide also Chap. I of Vol. II.

(65) Vide his account.

(66) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, pp. 223. Dr. Bhau Dāji states there:— "There is a difference of 4 years between the Christian era and the birth of Christ".

[Note : The Christian era, unlike the other religious eras, has no connection either with the birth or with the death of Jesus Christ. It is, in this point, quite different from the other eras.]

(67) Vide the Sukhbodhika Commentary of Kalpasūtra.

the bright half preceded the dark of the same month. In short, the solar method is used in the Mahāvīr era, while the lunar method is used in the Vikrama era. This, however, does not make any difference as far as the dating of a particular event in both the eras is concerned. Thus, there elapsed exactly 470 years between them. If we have to date any event, that happened before the establishment of the Mahāvīr era, or even if we have to date the death of Mahāvīr, we have to take into consideration both the systems; otherwise we are likely to make a mistake. As far as however, any event, which happened after the establishment of the Mahāvira era, is concerned, we can date it in both the eras by taking into consideration the fact that the Vikrama era was founded exactly 470 years after the Mahāvīra era.

As regards the christian era, it is said to have begun $56\frac{3}{4}$ years after the Vikrama era. It was founded after the third, (and before the fourth), year of the birth of Jesus Christ.

The Vikrama year is a lunar year of 354 days. The Christian year is a solar one of 365 days. Every year therefore, the Vikrama year is over 11 days before the Christian one. In the Vikrama era however, two extra months are added every five years and a month is dropped at the interval of some years, in order to make up its differences with the solar year. In the Christian era every four years, a day is added (the Leap year) in order to make it correspond exactly with the time taken by the earth's revolution round the sun. Once every four hundred years, the day is not added and thus the Christian years are adjusted to a nicety with the revolutions of the earth round the sun. Thus, once every five years or so, the dates of both the eras exactly correspond with each other. The new year of the Christian era[68] (January 1), begins at present sometime in Pauṣa, the third month of the Vikrama year. The same thing happened in ancient times also. So did the new year of the Vikrama era begin some time between the latter half of October and the former half of November. The

(68) Probably a change was effected in the Christian year in the mediaeval age. A Christian year however, always consisted of not less than 365 days. Experts, it is hoped, will throw some light on this problem.

same thing is seen to be happening at present. Hence, as a general rule, the Christian year begins nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 months after the Vikrama year. This shows that the interval between the two eras is not $56\frac{3}{4}$ years as is believed by Sir Cunningham[69], but either $56\frac{1}{4}$ years or $57\frac{1}{4}$ years, unless of course, that the Christian year began with some other month in place of January, in ancient times[70]. Experts on eras should throw some light on this problem. Sir Cunningham is a great and almost unassailable authority on such problems. Hence, when a scholar of his note states categorically that there was an interval of $56\frac{3}{4}$ years between the two eras, we cannot help thinking that he must have arrived at that conclusion, after a thorough and deep study of all the material on both the eras. Let us therefore try to adjust our difference with him. It is a difference of $\frac{1}{2}$ year. It is said that the Christian era was founded when Jesus Christ was running in his fourth year. According to our calculation it comes to $3\frac{1}{4}$ years. There are therefore, only two ways of adjusting our difference with Sir Cunningham's opinion. (1) The Christian era must have begun six months earlier than we believe it to have begun. (2) Jesus Christ must have been born six months earlier than we believe him to be. If we take the first alternative for granted, the Christian year must be taken to have been begun in those times with the 1st of July in place of the 1st of January. In the case of the second alternative, the Christian era must have begun $3\frac{3}{4}$ years after the birth of Christ in place of $3\frac{1}{4}$ years. This is a problem which deserves study at the hand of experts. So far as we are concerned here, we shall have to take for granted that there was an interval of $56\frac{1}{4}$ years between the two eras.

From the above discussion, we deduce that when we want to fix the Christian date for any event that happened during

(69) Some will argue that $56\frac{3}{4}$ is the correct number. These people should remember that the new Vikrama year begins in nearly the 10th month of the Christian year, and that three months after that, begins the new Christian year. Hence three months should be added to 56 or 57, but should not be deducted from them.

(70) Read f. n. no. 68 above,

the first three months of the Vikrama era, we must date it according to the previous year of the Christian era[71]; for any event that happened during the remaining nine months, we must date it according to the succeeding year.

The same method should be adopted in converting a date of the Mahāvīra era into the corresponding date of the Christian era. Only the interval between the two eras was 526¼ years[72].

The readres will see that the conversion of dates from Mahāvīra era into Vikrama era and vice versa is very easy. When any date of these two eras is to be converted into the Christian era, we must remember the formula stated in the preceding but one paragraph.

The following table is given to give a clear understanding of the relations between the three eras.

	Vikrama year		Christian year
(1)	1st year, Kārtik, Mārgāśirṣa and Pauṣa	=	B. C. 57, Octo, Nov. and Dec.[73]
(2)	57 V. E. „ „ „	=	B. C. 1, Octo. Nov. & Dec.
(3)	58 V. E. „ „ „	=	A. D. „ „ „ „
(4)	1st V. E. Māgh to Āśvin	=	B. C. 56, Jan. to Sept.
(5)	57 V. E. „ „ „	=	A. D. 1 „ „ „
(6)	58 V. E. „ „ „	=	„ 2 „ „ „

Or conversely

(7)	B. C. 57, Oct. Nov. Dec.	=	V. E. 1, Kārtik, Mārgaśirṣa and Pauṣa
(8)	B. C. 57, Jan. Sept.	=	V. E. 1, Māgh to Āśvin
(9)	B. C. 1, Oct. Nov. Dec.	=	V. E. 57, Kārtik, Mārgaśirṣa and Pauṣa

(71) In the case of A. D., the common expression is "expired" and in the case of B. C., the common expression is "To come" or "In store".

(72) The Vikrama era began 470 years after the Mahāvīra era; and the Christian era began 56¼ years after the Vikrama era. So the Christian era is separated from the Mahāvīra era by 526¼ years.

(73) As we are concerned here with B. C. any "current year" then means some months of the preceding year were yet to elapse. After A. D. a "current year" means that some months of the succeeding year have passed.

(10) A. D. 1, Jan. to Sept. = V. E. 57, Māgh to Āśvin
(11) A. D. 1, Oct. Nov. Dec. = V. E. 58, Kārtik, Mārgaśirṣa and Pauṣa
(12) A. D. 2, Jan. to Sept. = V. E. 58, Māgh to Āśvin
etc. etc.

A delusion

We have stated that the Christian era was begun 3¼ years after the birth of Jesus Christ. We have also stated that according to Sir Cunningham, the interval between the Vikrama era and the Christian era is 56¾ years. Adding them, we get the number 60. Now, Śakāri Vikramāditya's reign lasted exactly for 60 years, after which, he died and was succeeded on the throne by his son. This has made some scholars doubt, there must have been some connection between the two events—the death of Vikramāditya and the birth of Jesus Christ. This is a mere delusion as is shown below.

The Christian era, as we know, was founded 3¼ years after the birth of Jesus Christ, i. e. Jesus Christ was born in B. C. 4. Vikram died during the 60th year of the Vikrama era. It has been definitely proved that the Vikrama era dates from the day on which Vikramāditya ascended the throne, which he did in 57 B. C. Thus, Vikramāditya ascended the throne in 57 B. C. and died in 4 A. D., while Jesus Christ was born in 4 B. C. It will now become clear, that Jesus Christ was born nearly 8 years before the death of Vikramāditya.

Looking from the view-point of the beginning of the Christian era also, the birth of Jesus Christ will have to be dated 4 years before the rule of the Vikramāditya ended.

In short, there is no connection between the death of Vikramāditya and the birth of Jesus Christ.

Supplement to Chap. XI, Part VI

to read after pp. 326

In reference to the religion followed by the Ābhiras and the Traikūṭakas and in reference to the political relations between them, we have quoted on pp. 324 an extract from Mr. Rapson's book; where he says:—"Ābhira chiefs like Iśvardatta were governors of Jaina Kṣatraps; they became independent later on and assumed the title Mahākṣatrap. Their coins bear the same signs". On the same page, we have stated in continuation of this:—"Later on, the territory over which they had established independent power, was annexed by the Guptas of Avanti, who were followers of the Vedic religion. So, Dharsen, Vyāghrasen and their successors, who were little more than governors appointed by the Guptas, adopted the title "Parama Vaiṣnava Mahārāj". Briefly stated, this means that Iśvardatta and his successors were Jains. When, however, the Guptas conquered their territory, they accepted the Vedic religion—voluntarily or compulsarily. Later on, when the power of the Guptas declined, they became independent and founded the Traikūṭaka dynasty.

The religion followed by Ābhiras and Traikuṭakas

Thus the Ābhiras and the Traikūṭakas are the same people. They, however, founded dynasties bearing different names at different times. The Ābhiras did so, after freeing themselves from the power of the Chasṭhaṇas and the Traikūṭakas did so, after freeing themselves from the power of the Guptas.

An article has appeared in a quarterly named 'Indian Culture', April 1939, (Calcutta), in connection with the Gupta kings. Some of the details stated in it, support the theory stated in the above paragraphs. In it, it is also stated that the Copper-plates of both the Maitrakas and Traikuṭakas resemble each other in every respect, and that the method adopted in them is found in no other Copper-plates. From this, the writer of the article concludes that the Maitrakas were the vassals of Traikuṭakas.

[Note:—It is more probable that both the Maitrakas and the Traikuṭakas were vassals of some third power.]

Moreover, the writer concludes from the dates found on the Maitraka Copper-plates, that the dynasty was founded in 150th year of the Gupta era (i. e. 469 A. D.). He further states—" With reference to Droṇasinha—their ruler—it is stated, that he was installed as king by the supreme lord, the master of the whole world, himself. The earliest known date of Droṇasinha is 183 G. S. = 502 A. D. ". It is undoubtedly certain, that the Maitrakas (Vallabhi kings) have made use of the Gupta era. They were governors appointed by the Guptas. They were installed by them on the throne. This is one thing to be noted.

The second thing to be noted

The method adopted by the Maitrakas in their Copper-plates is identical with that of the Traikuṭakas. These Traikuṭakas also came into power at the time of the decline of the Gupta empire. The earliest known date of their dynasty is 207, i. e. there is a difference of 50 years only, between the earliest known dates of the Maitrakas and the Traikuṭakas.

From the details given above, we come to the conclusion that the Traikuṭakas, like the Maitrakas, were the vassals of the Guptas, and had become independent when the Gupta power was in the days of its downfall. Both used the Gupta era. If this is true, the Traikuṭaka dynasty must have been founded in 207 + 319 = 526 A. D., just about the time when Maitrak Droṇasinha was installed. The theory of some scholars that the Traikuṭakas used the Kalchūri or the Chedi era and that accordingly its date of founding was 207 + 249 = 456 A. D. will also be proved wrong.

	Ābhiras	Maitrakas	Traikuṭakas
Whose governors?	of the Chaṣṭhaṇa Ksatraps	of the Gupta emperors	of the Gupta emperors
Religion	Jainism	Vedic & Jainism (mixed kind)	The Vedic religion (Jainism later on)
Their territory	Govardhan Samay	Saurāṣṭra	Govardhan Samay
The era used by them	The Chaṣṭhaṇa era	The Gupta era	The Gupta era (not Chedi, as is believed)
The new name given to that era	The Ābhira A. D. 103	The Vallabhī A. D. 319	The Traikūṭaka A. D. 319
The title assumed by them	Mahākṣatrap	Mahārāj	Parama Vaiṣṇava Mahārāj

Dynastic Lists

N. B.—If figures mentioned here differ from those mentioned in the text, they require correction and further investigation.

× × × × ×

Name	A. M.	B. C.	Yrs.	Remarks
Śungabhṛtya	301–339	226–188	38	Commander-in-chief to the Mauryas

× × × × ×

Name	A. M.	B. C.	Yrs.	Remarks
Puṣyamitra	301–323	226–204	22	
	323–339	204–188	16	Śungabhṛtya in retirement
			38	
(I) Śunga Dynasty:	323–413	204–114	90	
(1) Agnimitra, the founder				
(a) During the life-time of Puṣyamitra	323–339	204–188	16	} 30
(b) As an independent king	339–346	188–181	7	
(c) As Emperor Kalki	346–353	181–174	7	
(inclusive of) Heir-apparent Vasumitra	339–346	188–181	7	
(2) Odrak alias Balamitra	353–370	174–157	17	} 32
(3) Bhāg, alias Bhāgavat alias Bhānumitra	370–385	157–142	15	
(4) Sujyeṣṭha alias Sumitra	385–392	142–135	7	} 28
(5) Ghoṣ	392–396	135–131	4	
(6) Vasumitra	396–403	131–124	7	
(7) Devbhūti	403–413	124–114	10	
				Total 90 years

Name	A. M.	B. C.		Yrs. Remarks
(II) Foreign Invaders :				
(A) Yonas–Bactrians	322–368	205–159	46	
(1) Demetrius				
(a) Outside India	322–335	205–192	13	
(b) Within „	335–345	192–182	10	10
			23	
(2) Menander	345–368	182–159		23
				33
(B) Kṣaharāṭas	368–453	159—74	85	
(a) Madhya-deś				
(1) Bhūmak	368–413	159–114		45
(2) Nahapāṇ	413–453	114—74		40
				85
(b) Mathurā				
(1) Rājuvul	372–410	155–117		38
(2) Soḍāṣ	410–452	117—75		42
				80
(c) Takṣillā				
(1) Liak	372–412	155–115		40
(2) Pātik	412–449	115—78		37
				77
(C) Indo–Pārthians, Pahlavas				
(1) Mauses	442–452	85—75		10
(2) Aziz I	452–469	75—58		17
(3) Azilises	469–497	58—30		28
(4) Aziz II	497–546	30—19	A. D.	49
(5) Gonḍofarnes	546–572	19—45	„	26
				130
(D) Indo–Scythians : Śāhi Dynasty				
(1) Ṛṣabhadatta	453–469	74—58		16
(2) Devaṇak	469–475	58—52		6
				22

(E) **Kuśānas** (See Vol. IV)

Name	A. M.	B. C.	Yrs.
(III) Gardabhila Dynasty (Lords of Avantī)			
(1) Gandharvasen alias Darpaṇ	453-463	74—64	10
Inter-regnum—Śaka rulers (See infra)		7 years	
		A. D.	
(2) Śakāri Vikramāditya	470-530	57—3	60
Śanku	470-470	a few months	
Bhartṛhari	470 & seq.		
		A. D.	
(3) Mādhavāditya	530-570	3—43	40
(4) Dharmāditya	570-580	43—53	10
(5) Vikramacharitra alias Mādhavasen	580-620	53—93	40
(6-7) Two small kings	620-634	93-107	14
(8) Bhāilla	634-645	107-118	11
(9) Nāilla	645-659	118-132	14
(10) Nāhaḍ	659-669	132-142	10
			209

Name	A. M.	B. C.	Yrs.
(IV) Śaka Rulers (Lords of Avantī)			
(1) Amlāṭ	463-463	64—64	6 months
(2) Gopāḷ	463-464	64—63	6 ,,
(3) Puṣpak	464-465	63—62	1 year
(4) Śarvil	465-468	62—59	2¾ ,,
(5) Name unknown	468-470	59—57	2¼ ,,
			7 years

Chronology

N. B.—Simple figures mentioned against the events show the pages and figures in brackets, the pages of the foot-notes, on which their description is given; when two dates of an event are probable, the one doubtful is bracketted; approximate dates are treated as crica; while those which are doubtful are marked as ? .

B. C.	B. M.	
5000		Mohan-jā-ḍero civilization, calculated by the scholars to be as old as (93)
3201		Beginning of Kali age (370); scholars assign this time to the Great Mahābhārata War (92)
cir 1000	9000	Composition of Śrutis and Smṛtis; 92, 96, 197; 10th cent. time of the writers of Śrutis and Upaniṣads, 276, (348)
9th cent.		Close relations existed between India and Persia, even before and after this; 237
877-777	350-250	Voḍavā Stupā was built 210; 7th & 8th century. Voḍavā Stūpa built by gods according to Jaina literature (207) and supported by Dr. Buhler's theory, 208.
778	251	Pārśvanāth, the Jaina 23rd Tīithankar, 93; 8th century Pārśvanāth lived 223; His name has been preserved in the Stūpas at Taxilā and Māṇikyāl 223.
7th & 8 cent.		Brāhmī Script, prevalent in Jambūdwīp 125
7th to 1st cent		Taxilā came under the power of several dynasties 222; Jainism was prevalent there all this time 223, 224
6th cent.		Origin of the Kharoṣṭhī from the Brāhmī 127; Buddhism came into being 400; a group of Śakas crossed the Indus 313; in 5th century 347.
558-530		Emp. Darius of Persia (80) (518, (80)); (see under 486)

B. C.	B. M.	
551	24	Death of king Pulusāki of Gandhār 80, (**550**, 216)
527	—	There was a great forest in the region of Vidisā, upto this time 355; Vidisā came into existence (between 527 to 57 = 470 years) 357; Vidisā founded anytime between 527 - 372=155 years 355; (shortly after 527) 363; It must have already been a flourishing city (in 527) 364; 365.
		Chaṇḍapradyota of Avantī died, 355; he died in the same night when Mahāvīr died 356;
cir 505		Taxilā ceased to be a Hindu capital (216).
	A. M.	
486 to 88		For these 400 years, Persia was under rulers, from Darius to Mithradates III, 132, (Cf. cir. 250) (Cf. 330 to 152)
4th & 5th cent.		Gujerat was known, upto this time, by name of Lāṭa (313)
493	34	Founding of Pāṭaliputra 58
486	41	Time of Darius, the Persian Emperor, 278; (see above 558)
467	60	Nandivardhan of Magadh conquered Avantī, 355
457	70	Beginning of Shri Harsha era (Mr. Thomas) 267
		A large number of Śakas converted to Jainism (from 457-447) by Ratnaprabhasūri 314; cir. 450, Certain Jaina monk converted people by lacs into Jainism (278)
447	80	Time of origin of the Gūrjars 321
cir 440		Large pouring of Śakas into Rajputana (67)
429-393=36 yrs. 425 98-134		Kharvel's time (22)
		Name of Pallavas is found, even long before the time of Khārvel 228

B. C.	A. M.	
417-414=110-113=3		Bṛhaspatimitra or Nand VIII (22)
cir 400		Time of Var-rūchi 171
333 to 152		No name of emperors, ruling over Persia is found in the history of Persia, why ? (97)
330-303=197-224=27½		Real time of Asoka's rule (223)
327	200	Alexander the Great came to India 82
325	202	Viśākh, responsible for Suderśan lake, 227; cir, 325, foreigners first invaded India by land 227
324	203	Vasiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi 334 (His time)
323	204	Death of Alexander the Great 83
317	210	Poros (of the Punjab region) was murdered (223)
316 (after);	211	Aśok's power was established over the Punjab (223)
304	223	Seleucus Nicator gave his daughter in marriage to Aśok, 128
3rd cent.		Indian rulers well understood the importance of trade by sea and also took possession of sea-coast, 161
cir. 290-250;	237-277	A group of Śakas settled in Ośiyā
281-225	246-302	The time of Śātakarṇi II, 28
281	246	Seleucus Nicator died, 102
276	251	Birth of Puṣyamitra 8, 43
270-180	257-347	Patanjali's real time 28, (if his age is taken to be 90); 32 (if he lived for 95 yrs. from 275 to 180); Patanjali alive (228) 31; His time (Prof. Weber) (27) & 150-40 according to a European writer, 27 (27) (140-20 according to Prof. Goldstücker (27) Patanjali (living in 194) (174); (144-42 Dr. Bhandarkar, (27)
261	266	Death of Antiochos I, (281-261=20 yrs.) 102
260	267	Birth of Agnimitra 9, 37, 45
250	277	Pārthiā & Bactriā became independent 279, (102)

B. C.	A. M.	
cir. 250		Rule of Arsex dynasty founded over Persia 238; Persia became independent 239 Priyadarśin had sent Dhamma-Mahāmātrās to various countries 193; erection of Sāñchī Stūpa by Emp. Priyadarśin 269
245	?82	Death of Deodotus I, (250–245=5) 102
245–230	282–297	Bactrian King Deodotus II, 102
236–227	291–300	Mauryan Emperor Subhāgsen 107
236–202	291–325	Taxilla was destroyed (between these years)218
cir. 235	292	Birth of Demetrius (203)
230–202	297–325	Bactrian King Euthidemos, 102, 107
229		Puṣyamitra joined the Mauryan army 45
226–204	301–323	Puṣyamitra appointed C. in C. 8, 45, 46. The time of Śunga-bhṛtyas 15, (Puṣyamitra Śunga-bhṛtya 29,(43); Puṣyamitra's whole time of office 25, 15, (226 to 118=38)
226	301	Sātakarṇi alive 31; (Śātakarṇi II died; 29) Invasion of Avantī by Śātakarṇi 43, 45; Avantī came under the Āndhra power 28;
223	304	Antiochos III came to the throne of Greece, 103
215	312	Euthidemos marched towards India 107; Antiochos III of Syria, married his daughter to Demetrius 103; Probable birth of Menander 107
213	314	Probable birth of Mahākṣatrap Bhūmak 137
211–204	316–323	Mauryan Emp. Bṛhadrath 46
210	317	Euthidemos conquered the Punjab 50: Siege of Sākal by Euthidemos (57)
209	318	Jālauk of Kāśmir conquered territories upto Kanoj 103
208	319	Birth of Vasumitra 11, 12
cir. 206	221	Both Jālauk & Euthidemos died 103 : Siege of Madhyamikā by Euthidemos 57 : Jālauk died (in 205) 47
205–182	222–245	Rule of Demetrius 104

B. C.	A. M.	
204–188	323–339	Puṣyamitra as regent 8; 28; Agnimitra as king 9, 16, 37; Puṣyamitra (living in 204) (22)
204–114	323–413	Śunga rule : 2
204	323	Bṛhadrath was killed by Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra 20
200–100		During this century, the Kṣaharāṭas came to India 193
197	330	First out of the two bloody wars between the Yavanas and the Indians (48); (circa 199–197), 149; Two conquests of Agnimitra (one over Vidarbha and the other over the Greeks) (between 197–195), 49, 57, (68)
196	331	Agnimitra married Princess Mālvikā 49
194	333	Demetrius began preparations to invade India 50
190–182	337–345	Demetrius ruled over India 105; His career practically came to an end soon after 175 (I. H. Q.) (25)
189	338	First Aśvamedh by Agnimitra during the life-time of Puṣyamitra 31 : (**195**, 50)
188	339	Death of Puṣyamitra (at his age of 88) 8, 44, 50, 108; Vasumitra as heir-apparent, 12; (cir.). Demetrius conquered the Punjab, 50
188–174	339–353	Agnimitra as independent ruler 10, 37
182	245	Vasumitra killed in a battle with Yavanas 51, 106 [His death (in 181 or 178), 11; (in 181), 11, 12, (32)] Vasumitra's time (187–181) 16; Demetrius died while fighting with Agnimitra 51; (**181** Bhūmak joined Menanḍer as a Kṣatrap 136, 137)
182–159	245–268	Menanḍer's time 116, 132 [182–152=26 yrs. 106, 107; according to scholars 160–140=20 yrs. (107)] (**156**, 68) His death in 159; 115, 116, 239, (268)

B. C.	A. M.	
		Rule of Hagām Hagāmas 133 (Menander's time 150–54 according to Greek history, 13)
181	246	Second Aśvamedh by Agnimitra after the death of Puṣyamitra 31 : Agnimitra performed sacrifice, 9.
cir. 181	346	Menander appointed Kṣātraps 136
181	346	Emp. Kalki's time 7, 10
181–174	346–353	Agnimitra destroyed Voḍavā stūpa at Mathurā 207
		Pāṭaliputra destroyed by Agnimitra (after 179) 58
180	347	Death of Patanjali, shortly after the second Aśvamedh by Agnimitra 32; Patanjali's time (**175** (27), Jaina Sāhitya Saṅśodhak); Upto this time Mathurā was a flourishing city, 206
174	353	Death of Kalki Agnimitra 9, 44, 109; at his age of 86, 10, 55;
		Probable birth of Nahapāṇ Kṣaharāṭ 146
174–158 16 yrs.	353–369	Odrak alias Balamitra 63 (174–157=17 yrs.; 16); (correct date ought to be 159, 136); death by an arrow from a Śaka (**158**, 67)
174–136 38 yrs.	353–391	Mithradates II, 188, 240
160	367	Greek King Eucratides (according to Greek history) 25
		Bhāg, Bhānumitra, Bhāgvat (157–142) 16; accession of Bhānumitra 116 (his rule 159–142=17 yrs.); 63, 115 (158–142=16)
159	368	Death of Ādrak 136;
		Bhūmak scored victory over Śungas and became independent 136, 137; His rule 159–114=45 yrs. : Nahapāṇas a Kṣatrap (in 158) 146; Bhānumitra annexed Mathurā to the Śunga kingdom on the death of Menander 179

B. C.	A. M.	
		Bactrian rule ended in India (250) Hagām died a little earlier than this. 178
158	369	Starting of Kṣaharāṭa era 180; (**158**, 115 (137)
157	370	The second, out of the two bloody wars between the Yavans & the Indians (48); the time of this (another calculation, cir. 158–56) (48); The Yavana chief Anticialtidas contracted friendship with the Śunga king 69 Kaṇva ministers of the Śungas (from 157–114=43 yrs.) 71, 171 Birth of Ṛṣabhadatta 300
156	371	Rājuvul succeeded Hagām–Hagāmāś on the throne of Mathurā 132: Rājuvul as Mahākṣatrap 133; Rājuvul conquered Mathurā (cir. 154–5) from the Śungas 179; His rule from 155–117=38 years, 180; Leak Mahākṣatrap (Taxillā) 184; his rule (155–115=40 yrs.)
157–57		These 100 years as Epoch of Śāh kings according to Gen. Cunningham & Thomas 268, 269 : (**159–117**, 270)
151	376	Kāliksūri, the Jaina monk & maternal uncle of Śunga Balamitra (70) (341)
cir. 150	377	Mithradates conquered Seistān 188
142	385	Bhānumitra Śunga died 69, 138 Śunga Sujyeṣṭa alias Sumitra (142–135) 16
135–131	392–396	Śunga emperor Ghoś 16
131–124	396–403	„ „ Vasumitra 16
130	397	Heliocles, Bactrian king & son of Eucratides, living according to Greek history 25
127	400	Ṛṣabhadatta rose to power 300; he, as governor under Bhūmak (127–114) 301
126	401	Ṛṣabhadatta was married to Dakṣamitra 300
124–114	403–413	Rule of Devabhūti Śunga 16

B. C.	A. M.	
123—88 35 yrs.	404-439	Rule of Mithradates II, 245, (342)
123	404	Bactrian rule ended for ever (250) in Bactria and in India in B. C. 159
cir. 120	407	Mauses appointed as a Satrap 245
117	410	Religious ceremony of the Lion-capital Pillar at Mathurā 181 (181) Nahapāṇ was still a Kṣatrap (181) Āmohi erected Āyāgapatta 182 Death of Rājuvul 180; and Soḍās as Mahākṣatrap of Mathura (117-75=42 yrs) 182 Mathurā Stupa restored by the chief Queen of Rājuvul 75 years after its destruction (202) 207; scholars have assigned 36 to 30 B. C. to this, 202 (202)
115—80 35 yrs.	412-447	Pātik's time as Mahākṣatrap of Taxilla 187; he came to the throne 185
115—77 38 yrs.	412-450	Rule of Mauses (Total length) 245
114	413	End of Śunga dynasty 72, 74: Both Śunga dynasty and Kaṇva ministers' rule ended 116; Death of Bhūmak 137, 143: Nahapāṇ as Mahākṣatrap 146, (181): Nahapāṇ as king of Avantī 136, 143, 146, 148; Nahapāṇ minted coins with "Raja" title 155: Nahapāṇ's time (114-74=40 yrs.) 145, 182
114—74 40 yrs.	413-453	Ṛṣabhadatta, as governor under Nahapāṇ 301
112	415	Birth of Devaṇak 301
1 cent. B. C.		One Ṛṣabhadatta flourished (285); Harṣapur, near Ajmer was a prosperous city 140: Gadhaiyā coins (339)
88	439	Mithradates II, the Great died 251, 259
85	442	Mauses, cir. (88); his conquest of Indian territory (240)

B. C.	A. M.	
		Emp. Mauses conquered Taxillā 186: cir. (80) Mause's rule began in India 253; [C. H. I. 78, pp. 253) (255)]. Scholars fix 78 B. C. asthe time of the beginning of Moga's reign though it is not correct, 189 (187). Some fix it (as 75), 189. Rule of Mauses ended (cir. 77) (245) & according to C. H. I. (75 to 58); Mauses conquered Sursen and established his capital at Mathurā (in 79) 254 : Mauses rule ended (in 78) 255 : he conquered the kingdoms (78 & 79) of Pātik and Soḍās 256 : True date (75) of conquering Mathurā by Mauses 256, 257. End of Mauses' reign (in 72) 189 : his death (in 75) 256
85—45		Punjab & Mathura under the Pārthian rule for 30 yrs, 378.
81	446	Pātik of Taxilā went to Mathurā on pilgrimage 186 Birth of Vikramāditya Śakāri 370
80	447	Pātik gave up the throne of Taxilā 207 : same religious condition prevailed at this time which was there in B. C. 250; 208 An inscription mentioning Voḍavā Stupa, built by gods is found out by Dr. Buhler 206 (He fixes the period as A. D. 157 (pp. 206), but it really comes to B. C. 80 (pp. 207)
78	449	According to scholars, some separate era (Aziz) was started (in 80) 406; supposed to be the beginning of Śaka era by Aziz I (B. C. 78 or A. D. 78 ?) 257, 258; Copper-plate Inscription of Taxilā by Pātik 253, 255 Aziz I : his rule from 78-58 : 257; possibly 75 to 58=17 yrs. 257

B. C.	B. M.	
78—74	449–453	All the three Kṣaharāṭa kingdoms in India came to end 255
75—57	452–467	Scholars believe that the Śakas inhabited the Sindh delta during this time (93)
75	452	Death of Mauses 256
75—58 17 yrs.	452–469	Rule of Aziz I, (299)
A. D.	A. M.	
74—78	453-605	For these 152 years, Śāhi dynasty of Ṛṣabhadatta ruled over Saurāṣṭra (one theory) 272, 164
74	453	Death of Nahapāṇ 146, 256, 267, 330 Ṛṣabhadatta founded his dynasty 291 : he became an independent ruler 301; His reign (74–58=16 yrs.) 291 Gardabhīla dynasty founded 330, 335, (352) Gandharvasen's period (74–64=10 yrs.) (335) Kāliksūri, the Jaina monk (127–74=53 yrs.) resigned from the Jaina Holy orders (341)
74—52 =22	453–475	Duration of Śāhi's dynasty 301 : one scholar assigns the period (74–57=17 yrs.) (348)
64	463	Śakas defeated the Gardabhīla king 294; Their time (64–57) 335 Kāliksūri gained his object 10 yrs. after he had resigned the Jaina Holy orders (341) End of the Gardabhīla first king 257 : acc-to others his death (in 61) 257 : he was allowed to quit Avantī on his defeat 343 (cir. 60) Foreigners landed in India by sea, 227
64—57 7 yrs.	463–470	Śaka rulers; 335 [King Amlāṭ (64–63=½yr.); King Gopāl (63–63=½ yr.); King Puṣpak (63–62=1 yr.); King Śarvil (62–60=2¾ yrs.); Nameless (60–57=2¼ yrs.) = all 7 yrs, 351:]
61	466	Death of Gardabhīla Gandharvasen 257 (343)
60	467	Mithradates III, came to the throne, 259

B. C.	A. M.	
58	469	Death of Ṛṣabhadatta 301; his son Devaṇak ascended the throne 301 Aziz I, died about this time 418; his time (58–47=11 yrs.) according to C. H. I. (245) (255)
58 to 30		Indo–Pārthian king Azilises, 260
57–57=6 months.		Śanku Gardabhila of Avantī 366
57	470	Śakāri Vikramāditya 2; (his time 57 B. C. to A. D. 3=60 yrs.) 335, 421: (57 to 4 A.D. =61 yrs. 388)
57	470	Inauguration of Vikrama era to commemorate the defeat of Śakas by Vikramāditya aided by Ariṣṭakarṇa Āndhra 352 : Vikrama era commenced (93) (268). Beginning of Vikrama era (352), 430; (B. C. 74 & 70 other theories 430; another theory (in 52) (39); (58 according to Prof. Carpentier (370); 56¾ Initial point of Vikrama era, as per Gen. Cunningham's theory (352) (426); beginning Kārtik, Thursday 18th September (374); Vikrama rooted out the Śakas 409. Battle of Kārur, according to Amarkoś in which Vikramāditya Śakāri was the victor and proved to be the fact 417, 426 According to Amarkoś, king Śudrak founded (B. C. 58) the Vikrama era (408). According to some scholars, Aziz I, is supposed to be the founder of the Vikrama era (in 58) 409, 418. Aziz I, is proved to have no connection with the era, 419 : Takṣillā inscription with fig. 79, is mistakenly supposed to be dated 136 of Aziz era (419). Till B. C. 57, no method was definitely adopted by the Jains for dating events 404. Gadhaiya coins (339) of the 1st century B. C.

B. C.	A. M.	
57—43	470-484	Time of three Jaina Āchāryas (Pādalipta, Nāgārjun and Ārya-khapuṭ) 371
		Time of Emp. Hāl Śālivāhan : exact time of his rule is B. C. 47 to A. D. 18 = 65 years (371)
57—47	470-480	(Between these years) War between Vikramāditya and Ṛṣabhadatta Indo-Scythian 377
52	475	Devaṇak was defeated and killed 300 : death of Devaṇak 301, 325 : he was living (in cir. 50) 297
		Śāhi dynasty (Ṛṣabhadatta was the founder) ended 291 : my views confirming this (300); I thought this to be 78 at first (300)
		Some ten kings of Śāhi dynasty ruled over Saurāṣṭra from B. C. 50 to A. D. 78 as some scholars hold. 297
47	480	Āndhra king Ariṣṭakarṇa (Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi) who aided Vikramāditya, died 353; ten years after B. C. 57 he died, and began the reign of Hāla Śālivāhan 415 [his time being B. C. 47 to A. D. 18=65 years (371)]
		(1st cent.) Arabia under Jaina rule (390)
A. D.	A. M.	
30—19 =49 yrs.	497-556	Time of Aziz II, 262
A. D.		
3—43	530-570	King Mādhavāditya 335 [4 : 386 : Vikramāditya died (391) and Mādhavāditya came to the throne 386]
15	542	Hāl Śālivāhan died (391). Śakāri Vikramāditya & King Hāl had got several temples repaired on Mt. Śatrunjaya under the leadership of the three Jaina Āchāryas Pādalipta, Nāgārjun and Ārya-khaput (see under B. C. 57 to 47) their time being about 20 to 25 years before Vajrasūri (391) (For Vajrasūri's time see under A. D. 21 to 57).

A. D.	A. M.	
19—45	546–572	Goṇḍofārnes, Indo-Pārthian king 263
21	548	Emp. Goṇḍofarnes is said to have been initiated to Christianity by St. Thomas (263)
21—57	548–584	Jaina Āchārya Vajrasūri 391, 392 (see below under cir. 50 & 57)
43—53	570–580	Dharmāditya Gardabhīl 335
45	572	Emp. Goṇḍofarnes Indo-Pārthian emperor, left India for good 264 : he left India to occupy the Persian throne 334 : he left India (334), 378, 389
45—78	572–605	Punjāb & Kāśmir, were perhaps under Mantrigupta, the Gardabhīla minister 379 (see under 53 to 93)
cir. 50		(see under 57)
53—93	580–620	Vikramacharitra Gardabhīl 336 : correct time of his minister Mantrigupta's governorship over the Punjāb & Kāśmir (412) : (cf. infra A. D. 409 & 1009)
57	584	Āchārya Vajrasūri died (147) : reparations by Jāvaḍśāh of temples on Śatrunjaya (in cir. 50) (391) : (As these functions are carried in presence of Vajrasūri, who died in A. D. 57, and Emp. Vikramacharitra, who came to the throne in A. D. 53, the date must be fixed to A. D. 55 instead of cir. 50 The Jaina Aṅgas in existence (147). Ten Parvas were also complete in existence (147)
60	587	Emp. Goṇḍofarnes is said to have died (263)
cir. 68-70		Hāl Śālivāhan (see under 78)
78	605	Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi rooted out the Kṣaharāṭas (scholars belief of this date) 151, 334, 408; Gautamīputra's date fixed by the scholars (272), 297. (Though his real time is B. C. 47=see supra). According to scholars, beginning of the Śaka

A. D.	A. M.	
		era, (437), 447, 448. Śaka era founded (scholars belief) by Kaniṣka 445. Kaniṣka the Kuśān is said to have established his power in north India 264. (Kaniṣkas real time is A. D. 103, see infra)
		It is said that Śaka (Ṛṣabhadatta's) rule ended in India 267; that is not the case 271 (see supra under B C. 52). Descendants of Ṛṣabhadatta are said to have ruled upto this time over Saurāṣṭra 271. (This is wrong)
		Scholars assign this date to the beginning of the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty 285; (307), (437), 443,(443), (which is wrong; see under 103 A.D.).
		Some scholars believe that Gardabhīla dynasty ended 330 (This figure is wrong, 333)
		Mr. Vincent Smith, fixes Hāl Śālivāhan's time about 70 (A. D. 68) under the belief that Śaka era was founded (by him in A. D. 78) 371; but his real time is in B. C. years (see supra under B. C. 47).
93	620	Vikrama-charitra died 395
cir. 100		Kadaphisis II died 395; (This is 103 in exact figures)
103		Kuśāna dynasty founded by Kaniṣka (334)
		Beginning of Chaṣṭhaṇa era (309) 448
107-118		King Bhāilla of the Gardabhīla dynasty 336
118-132		King Nāilla " " " 336
117-180		The author of Periplus of Erythroean sea is said to have lived at this time 268
130		Time of Rudradāman, grandson of Chaṣṭhaṇ (because the figure is 52 + 78 Śaka era date) according to scholar's belief 335 (This is wrong; see Vol. IV)
132-142		King Nāhaḍ Gardabhīla 336;
142		End of the Gardabhīla dynasty 335. Chaṣṭhaṇ

A. D.	A. M.	
		succeeded his father Gṣamotik (cir. 142) 395. Chasṭhaṇ's time (my theory) 335
2nd cent.		Origin of Ābhiras traced to this period 288
236–238		Supposed date of Ḍāmsen's rule : present belief, (307); (it is wrong, see Vol. IV)
249		Ishvarsen, (see below) father of Ishvardatta Ābhir, can be fixed up at, 310, Beginning of Chedi era (310); foundation of Traikūṭaka era by Iśvardatta 309, 312
249–261		Iśvarsen Ābhir's actual time of rule 311
261		Iśvardatta (second) became independent (286), his time is fixed at 249; according to some (between 236–249); 309 (Though Iśvardatta is the founder & his time is 261, the beginning is reckoned from the time of accession of his father Iśvarsen in (249)
261–264 & further		Ābhir Iśvardatta's reign 311
3rd cent.		Revival of Mathura, during the time of the Guptas (191)
319		End of the Chasṭhaṇa dynasty over Avantī (381). Guptas occupied the throne of Avantī 437
319–330		Time of Chandragupta I, 421
375–414		Time of Chandragupta II, 421 (369 to 414; 408)
380		Time of Samudragupta, according to Gen. Cunningham 268
400		Fā-Hian, the Chinese traveller 213, 215
409		Śatrunjaya Mahātmaya supposed to have been written (Gen. Cunningham's theory) 411; cir. 430 supposed time of Mantrigupta over Kāśmir by Vikramāditya (Gen. Cunningham) 412. Time of Chandragupta Vikramāditya 409 to 433 (Gen. Cunningham) 411; (all these three beliefs are wrong; see infra, under 1009 and also supra A. D. 53 to 93).

A. D.	A. M.	
453	510	Supposed date of Devaḍḍhigaṇi Kśamāśramaṇ is found to be erroneous (405) (see infra under 828)
456		Dharsen Traikūṭak came to the throne 312 (Further research tells me that the figure 207, which is believed to be Chedi era is really Gupta era & hence Dharsen's date will come to 207+319=526 A. D. (just very close to Maitrakas of Vallabhi becoming independent; 461) (see infra 469)
469		Maitraka dynasty of Vallabhī founded, 461; **479**, (318); (which is wrong, see under 502)
480–495		Kumārgupta alias Vikramāditya III, 421
490–533		Huṇas (Tormāṇ and Mihirkul) rule over Avantī 318
502		Droṇsinha of the Maitraka dynasty was installed, 461
515–550	35 yrs.	Time of Parmāra Yaśodharman 422 (also 540–590). Some scholars suppose this to be the time of Vikramāditya, who founded Samvat era & revived Hinduism, 415
524–544		Wrong theory of battles of Kārur & Manseri having been fought, 425. Wrong theory that Yaśodharman defeated Mihirkul at Kārur, 416 (in 544)
526		Traikūṭaka dynasty must have been founded 461 [Scholars' belief for 456 (see above) A. D. seems to be wrong.]
528		Supposed date of Haribhadrasūri (author of Samrāi-kahā) (405), which is erroneous (see under 903 A. D.)
531		Defeat of Hūṇs by Yaśodharman of Avantī 435; Battle of Mansheri fought between Hūṇāri Vikramāditya & Hūṇs (proved) 426; Hūṇs wiped out almost to a man 319 (first this date was taken to be 533; further research says 531)

A. D.	A. M.	
533		Long before this time, the Chaulukyas were in existence (320)
550		Parmāra Bhojdev 423;
6th cent.		Śakas were conspicuous by their absence 417; origin of the Gūrjaras according to scholars (313)
7th cent.		The word Mlechchha came into use (75). Islām was founded (390)
633		Beginning of the reign of Emp. Harsa 267; Harṣa lived 417
640		Huen-Tṣang, the famous Chinese traveller 215
cir. 670		Beginning of the Traikūṭaka dynasty 284 (erroneous : see under 456 A. D.) as some scholars think
8th cent.		Beginning of the famous Rā Dynasty of Junagadh 287, (287); famous writer Vākpatirāj flourished, contemporary to king Yaśoverman of Gwalior 27. Jains of the south to the river Kṛṣṇā were converted to Śaivism 233: Jains driven out of the Pallava country by the Śaiva saint Appār (in cir. 750) 233; Dantidurg (6th Traikūṭak) ruled over Mahārāṣṭra (in cir. 750) 284
8th & 9th cent.		Mathurā enjoyed the same religious position in Jainism from B. C. 8th cent. (e. g. nearly 1700 yrs.) 208. The appellation Vikramāditya was in vogue in N. India till 8th cent., but for a longer period in S. India (429)
720–790		Parmāra Devaśakti 422
733–759		Chaulukya Vikramāditya I, 422
738		See under 754
754		Earliest inscription bearing V. E. date, 420, (420) (439). Earliest inscription with Vikrama era (738 + 57 = 795) is found however; it is proved unreliable 420
755–834		King Āmradev of Gwālior 209
759 & seq.		Chaulukya Vikramāditya II : 422

A. D.	A. M.	
826		Bappabhaṭṭasūri performed a religious ceremony at Mathurā 209. Vākpatirāj converted to Jainism 209
828	G.E. 510	True date of Devaḍḍhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇ 433, (427), 431 (V. E. 885)
868	S.E. 790	This belief is wrong; see under 1009 A. D.
870–915		Bhojdev Parmār alias Ādivarāh 423; contemporary to his namesake of Parihāra dynasty
10th cent.		Dhārānagarī selected by Bhojdev as the capital of Mālvā (338)
903	G.E. 585	Samarāditya-kahā by Haribhadrasūri (427)
923	V.E. 980	True date of reading the Kalpasūtra in the public 432, 433. (Other provisional dates 936, 940 A. D.)
996–1055		Bhojadev Parmār alias Śilāditya 423
998		Mūlarāj Solanki of Gujerat defeated Dharsen of Ānandpur (337)
1009	V.E. 1066	Śatrunjaya Mahātmya composed by Dhaneś war sūri (428). Correct date of the above during the reign of Bhojdev Śilāditya 412. Time of Dākṣinya-Chinha sūri, author of Kuvalaymālā [according to my theory 790 G. E. + 319 (and not Śaka's; see 828 supra) = A. D. 1009] (428)
1022		Expressing the dates, with solar-month system is again found at this time (448)
1036		Cave inscription of this date at Udayagiri by Vikramāditya 410; (There seems to be an error in this)
11th cent.		Time of Karṇadev Solanki (337)
15th cent.		Founding of Vaiṣṇavism (42)
1502		Vāsco-ḍa-Gāmā landed at Calicut 111
cir. 1819		Said to be the date of a future Kalki according to the Jaina scriptures (41)
1869		Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indrajit first found out the Mathurā Lion-capital 202

ERRATA

Pp.	*Line*	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
15	5	204–218	204–188
41	28	B. C. 1819	A. C. 1819
79	6	Śākadwīp	Śakadwīp
119	20	Brāhmī language spoken by	Brāhmī script written by
127	9	kṣaharāṭ	kṣarāṭ
147	34	(upto A. D. 30, the years in which......)	(A. D. 57, the year in which......)
151	15	Amaya	Ayama
197	4	Baihbhan	Baṁbhaṇ
174	31	Patanjali, though	Kātyāyan; and
227	35	2nd century B. C.	2nd century A. C.
262	32	grand–mother	mother
264	6	in A. D. 26	in A. D. 45
264	9	half a century	quarter of a century
281	35	C. H. I.	O. H. I.
297	16	grand mother	mother
314	12	457 to 447 A. D.	457 to 447 B. C.
355	8	Kauśāmbi with a large army	Kauśāmbi
366	6	from B. C. 64 to 63	from B. C. 57 to 57
370	22	B. C. 3101	B. C. 3201
371	13	f. n. no. 19 below	f. n. no. 19
314	25 & 26	Godvāl	Golvāḍ



Demetrius

Fig. 10] [Pp. 104



Menander

Fig. 11] [Pp. 106



Nahapāṇ: Lord of Avantī

Fig. 14] [Pp. 143



Chaṣṭhaṇ, Mahākṣatrap

Fig. 15] [Pp. 164



Rajūvul Mahākṣatrap

Fig. 17] [Pp. 176



Pātik Mahākṣatrap

Fig. 18] [Pp. 183



Iśvardatta Ābhir

Fig. 25] [Pp. 308



Traikūṭak Dharsen

Fig. 26] [Pp. 305



Traikūṭak Vyaghrasen

Fig. 28] [Pp. 324



Hūṇa tribe-man

Fig. 27] [Pp. 318





Rudradāman

Fig. 30] [Pp. 335

Persons, in whose names various eras were founded



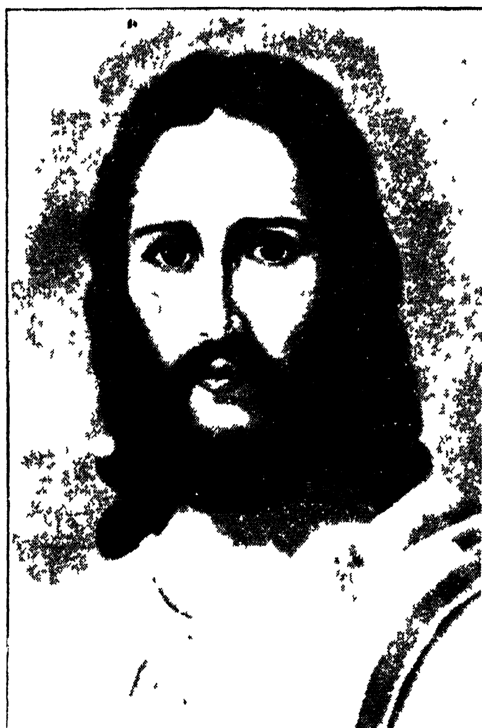
Lord Mahāvīr

Fig. 33] [Pp. 400



Lord Buddha

Fig. 34] [Pp. 400



Lord Jesus

Fig. 35] [Pp. 400



Nahapāṇ
(who founded Ksaharāṭa era)

Fig. 35]





Kaniṣka Chaṣṭhaṇ
(Founders of the eras)

Fig 37] Fig. 38

(See Pp 400)



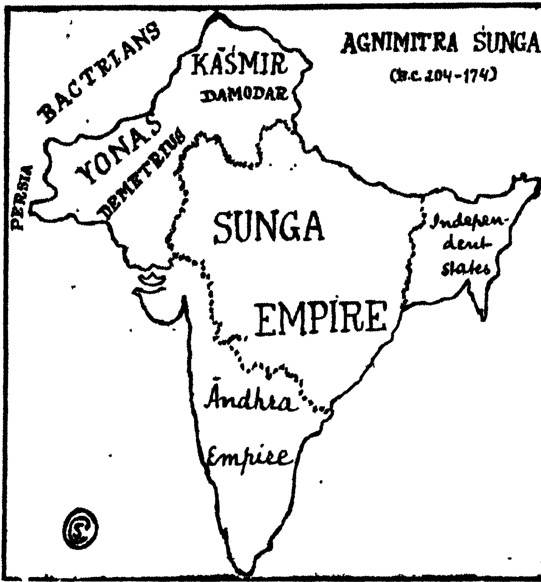
Emp. Kaniṣka

Fig. 39] [Pp. 400

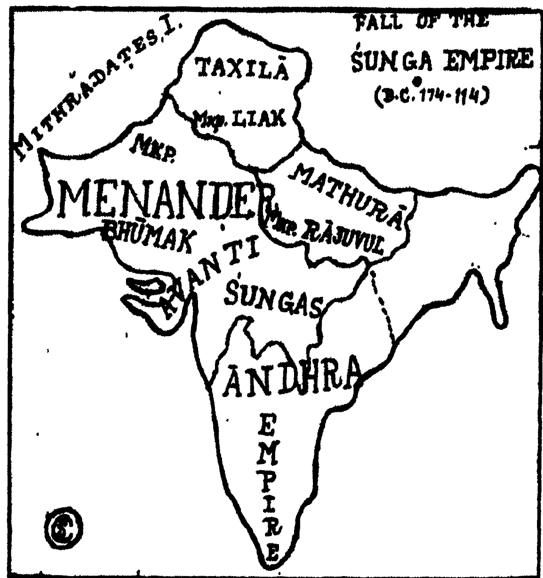


Chasthan

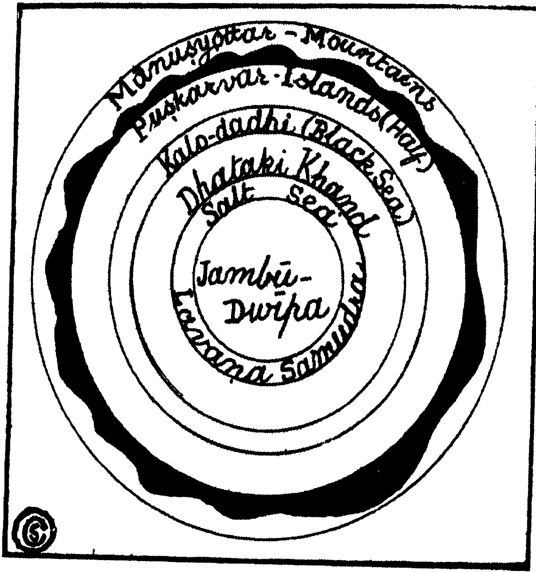
Fig. 40] [Pp. 400



Map No I] [Fig. 43, Pp. 47



Map No. II] Fig. 44, Pp. 71 & seq.



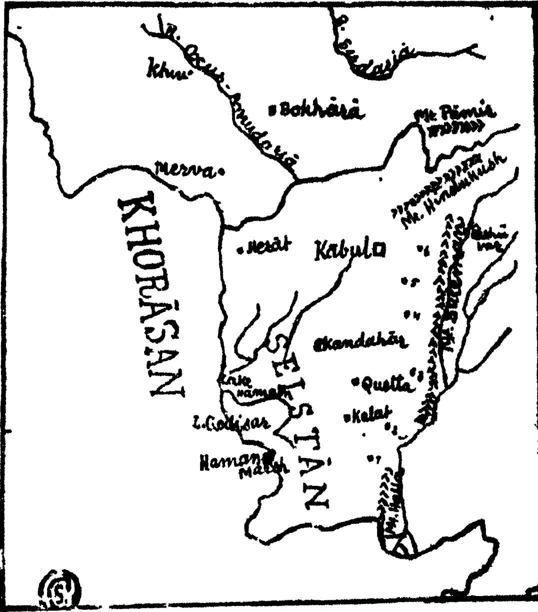
Aḍhī-dwīp & Jambū-dwīp
(Their relative positions)

Map No, III] [Fig. 45, Pp. 81



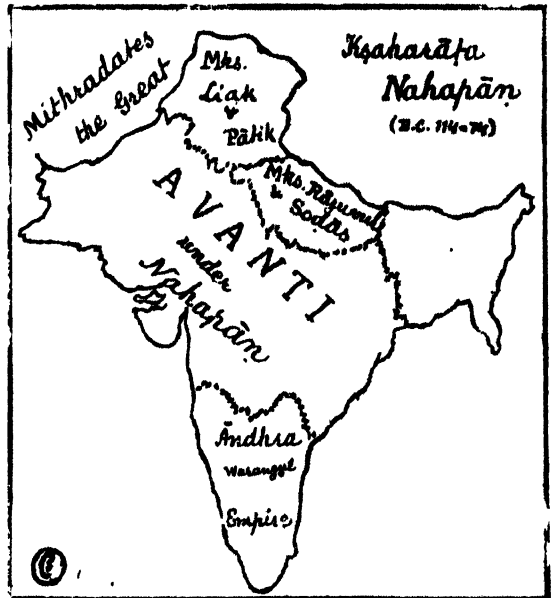
Jambūdwīp & Śāka-dwīp
Their relative positions

Map, No. IV] [Fig. 46, Pp. 89

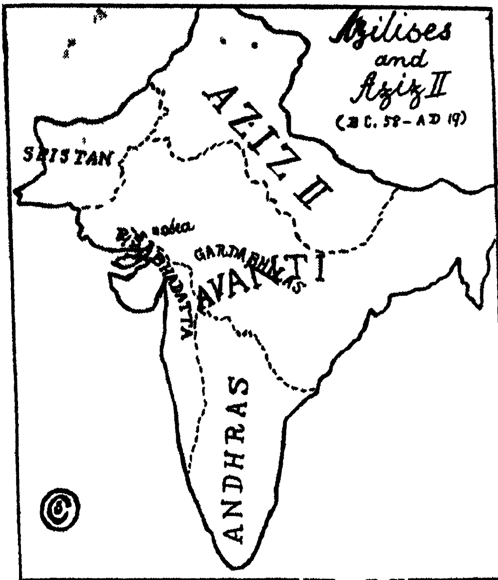


Śeistān–Śakasthān

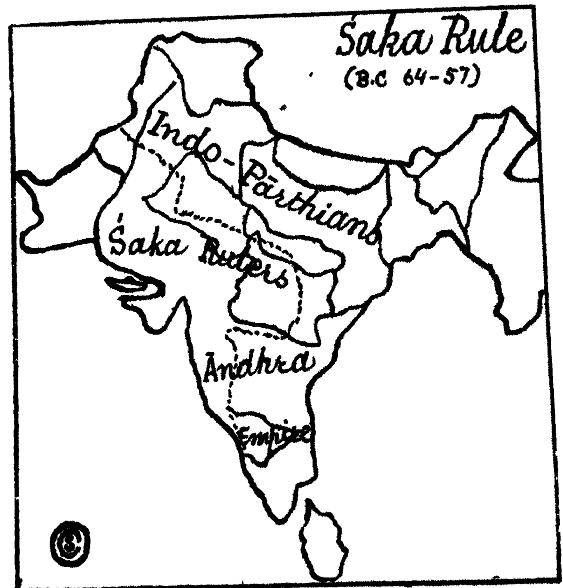
Map. No. V] [Fig. 47, Pp 90



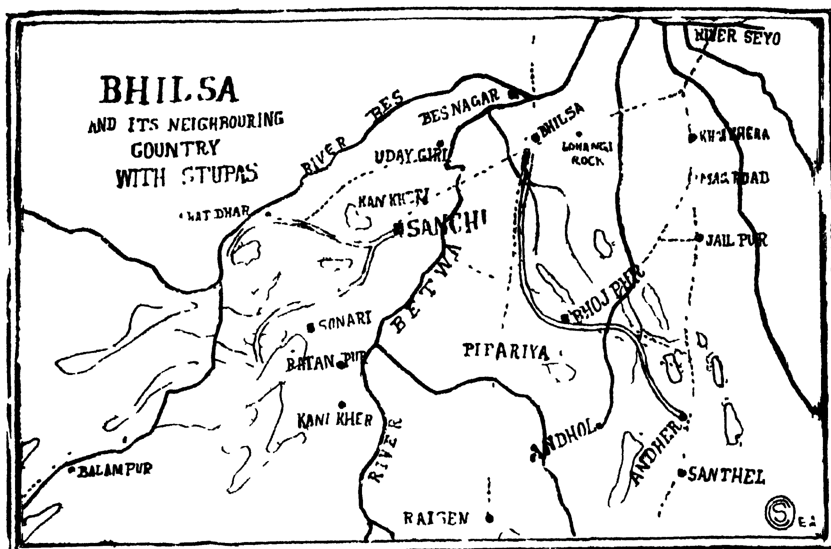
Map No. VI] [Fig. 48, Pp. 149



Map No. VII] Fig. 49 Pp. 251

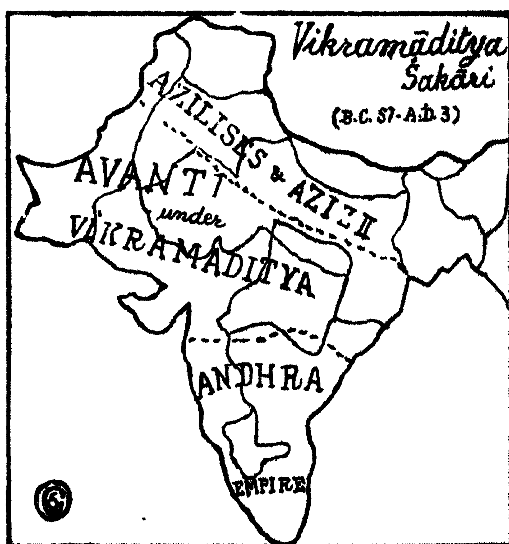


Map No. VIII] Fig. 50, Pp. 345



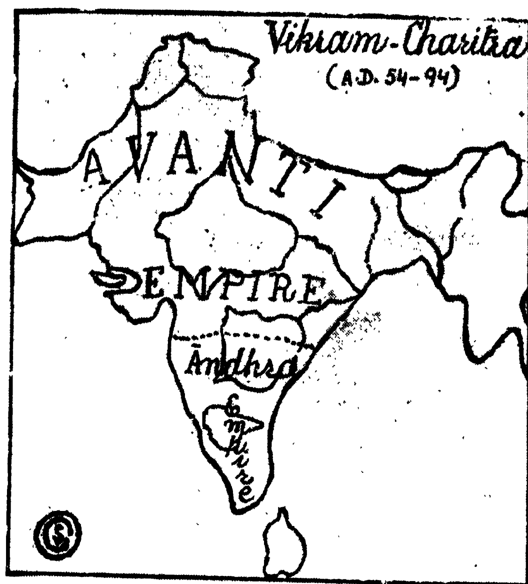
Map No. IX]

[Fig 51, Pp. 353



Map. No. X]

[Fig. 52, Pp. 377



Map No. XI] [Fig. 53, Pp. 393



Mathurā Lion-Capital-Pillar
(Consecrated by Queen-consort of Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul)

Fig. 54] [Pp. 201

INDEX

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T

Z

OPINIONS

Your book presents quite a novel aspect of ancient history. I conclude that you have not spared yourself in writing these volumes.

Bombay

Yours truly

Krishnalal Mohanlal Zaveri M. A.; LL. B.

*   *   *

The author has certainly succeeded in bringing out a mass of facts hitherto neglected. He has endeavoured to prove his contentions with ample quotations and discussions. He has enriched his volumes with numerous chronological and analytical tables and maps.

Madras **Prof. V. Rangachari** (The **Hindu)**

*   *   *

It is a book which must be read, in order to be understood. There are a number of illustrations, some of which are really valuable. The author compels amazement by his sincerity.

Educational Review

*   *   *

The standpoint of the author, is in many respects, radically different from the generally accepted one. We see no reason how and why these theories should be particularly Jain standpoint.

The author has worked hard for his book. There are heaps of facts accumulated in these volumes. In spite of its defects, it is a readable book.

Calcutta **The Foreword**

*   *   *

His judgements are always synthetic and the book contains things hitherto unknown.

Baroda **Prof. Keshavlal Himatram Kamdar**

Prof. of History, Baroda College

*   *   *

He has laboured much in elucidating our past history and his conclusions mostly run counter to the accepted theories.

Nevertheless, his new theories will stimulate further discussions and research, from which we may gain much good.

Oriental Institute, Baroda. **B. Bhattacharya** Ph. D.

* * *

I believe that his work will prove very useful and interesting. Many new points are introduced by him and though agreement on these is not always possible, yet they show the great energy and vast reading of the author. I am sure, it will be most welcome to all indologists.

Wilson College, Bombay **Prof H. D. Velankar M. A.**

* * *

He had collected a mine of information with an aim to compile an Encyclopaedia of Jainism, and with the due discretion he has gleaned material out of it, which comes to light as " Ancient India." Some of his theories and conclusions might strike many a reader as bomb-shells, but there is not a shadow of doubt, that a close study of these theories will disillusion even experts, on many a most and debatable point of ancient history and will clearly show us, how we misconstrued our own past. The book deserves encouragement from the heads of educational departments.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay **Acharya Girjashanker Vallabhji** M. A. Curator, Archeological Section

* * *

The boldness of his conclusions and the sustained effort with which he tries to support them, are the marked features of the book, which is enriched with pictures, specially drawn, of the relics and personalities, which are treated with as much of realistic accuracy as can be brought to bear on them. The conclusions, which are to a large extent startling and opposed to accepted views, should attract the serious attention of all students.

Journal of Indian History **C. S. S.**

* * *

They (scholars) have had an altogether inexplicable apathy towards the Jain sources, believing them to be-wholly mistakenly, as Mr. Shah has so admirably shown in this work-merely fantastic, mythological, and therefore unreliable story books. Mr. Shah therefore has done a very real service to Indian historical research by bringing out this book.

In certain ways, Mr. Shah has done the same kind of work in relation to Jain historical literature as Pargiter did in relation to Hindu Puranic literature. The difference is in this, that while Pargiter's aim was to fit a new source of information hitherto untackled into the accepted version of ancient Indian history. Mr. Shah's is, in his own view, to correct the accepted theories. He boldly, and in some cases seemingly successfully challenges a good many theories and even the system of chronology hitherto accepted without hesitancy.

To deny the identity of Sandrecottus and Chandragupta Maurya, indeed, destroys the very anchor-sheet of the present ancient Indian historical structure-But the important is. that Mr. Shah has successfully given a complete chain of the development of ancient Indian history, and in this chain, two features are particulary remarkable. Firstly, it is noticeably rich in geographical detail, about which the present history text-book is so poor and disappointing-Secondly it is exhaustive in its treatment explaining its own view with as great clarity and with as many references as possible. Both these features should make it an eminently useful reference book for historical researchers of ancient India in future. The real significance of the book lies in its novel explanations and in its new orientation of the subject it deals with.

University, Delhi — **Boolchand** M. A. Ph. D. (Lon.)
Prof. of History

* * *

Most of us are quite ignorant of the real cultural glory of ancient India. Dr. Shah's book is an admirable effort to supply this dificiency.

He has put forth some new theories and has thus invited much criticism, argumentation and discussion. He has not failed to give as much evidence as possible for every theory.

Bombay — H. G. **Anjaria** M. A.
(Principal, S. N. D. T. Women's University)

* * *

Copious footnotes, chronological lists and.index have made the book worthy of the attention of scholars, while the homely style of the author has laid the material within the rich of all.

The difficulties and setbacks which the author has experienced in the publication of this book, are enough to make his effort worthy of admiration. His new theories, his challenging attitude and his enthusiasm are really inspiring.

Bombay **Janmabhumi**

* * *

None should work under the erroneous conception that the author has been partial towards Jainism.

In fact he has given a panoramic picture of ancient India and his theories and conclusions shed quite a new light on those times.

Bombay **Bombay Samachar**

* * *

This substantial volume of five hundred pages deals with numismatics–old coins, i. e. coins current in ancient India. In addition, the period covered by the Maurya dynasty and the onslaughts of foreigners—Yavanas—have been handled with the precision of a scientist. The indexes are very useful and furnish a key to the varied contents of the volume.

Modern Review

* * *

The book is unique adventure. The scholarship, the information, the material and the zeal of the author are praiseworthy. He has not spared himself in the pursuit of his work. He has defended his theories with enthusiasm of a pleader.

If scholars begin to reinvestigate all the available material in the light of this book, another link in the broken chain of ancient history is sure to be supplied.

Karachi **Urmi**

* * *

The whole book sheds a new search light on ancient Indian history. He has not failed to advance solid evidence, wherever he has differed from his predecessors.

Baroda **Sahityakar**

* * *

The book presents a connected history of ancient India from 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.; the most noteworthy feature of which

is a chronological statement of events, that took place during the period stated above.

Bombay **Jain Prakash**

*   *   *

The present book will convince the reader that Dr. Shah, though a doctor by degree, is a painstaking student of ancient Indian history and culture, and that he has dived deep into that ocean. He has made a formidable attempt in this book to prove, that many theories hitherto universally accepted by all historians, are entirely wrong.

Ahmedabad **Buddhiprakash**

*   *   *

It is a scholarly work and statements made in it, are supported by proofs from coins, inscriptions and writings of old authors. It has roused of course, an amount of controversy, but all the same is a monumental work.

Bombay Chronicle

*   *   *

There seems almost everywhere the vast study, deep knowledge and lofty conscience devoted to the message of History. In our land, few writers try on such a grand and laborious scale to make the best of the foundation of the subject they choose. The readiness of Dr. Shah for the subject he has handled is praiseworthy, and his love of duty and deepness of labour are also more welcome. On account of this singularity, his publications have been able to put before us some such new materials and theories which not only the oriental but also the western scholars have not yet touched.

Ahmedabad 'The **Review of Gujarati Literature**'

*   *   *

This volume covers 1000 years of Indian History from B. C. 900 to A. D. 100, which are described in the forward as 'the really formative period of the History of ancient India.' It is added that no really comprehensive work on this period exists—a claim with which the history-student will readily agree.

The book has an added interest in that, apart from Buddhist and Brahmanic sources which have to a certain extent already

been exploited. Dr. Shah has been able to draw on Jain material so far unavailable. That he is in an excellent position to be able to do this, is proved by his 25 years' work on a Jain Encyclopædia. Since publication of this latter work has not been possible, he has written this history instead.

At least one feaure of this book will startle history students and that is Dr. Shah's recalculations of ancient Indian Chronology.

Bombay **The Illustrated Weekly of India**

* * *

Dr. Shah has undertaken an almost superhuman task of investigating most of the established landmarks of a most eventful period in India's ancient history and of propounding some revolutionary changes in them.

......One can certainly commend Dr. Shah's tremendous labours and uncommon boldness in setting forth some novel conclusions.

History needs all workers and the whole truth of any period of history is never known until many have sought for it.

Bombay **Rao Bahadur G. H. Sardesai**

* * *

Epigraphic, numismatic and monumental sources have been sufficiently utilized by the author. The perseverance, zeal and love of historical studies of the author is really commendable.

The foot-notes he has given are helpful in elucidating facts that they are a special help to the reader.

The Bombay Sentinel

* * *

The book bristles with many such new theories.

The book is an epoch-making publication.

Calcutta **'Amrita Bazar Patrika'**

* * *

The whole work is based upon information which has not hitherto been exploited by historians and research scholars.

Although sceptics might hesitate to take in all that the author says, I personally do not disbelieve his theories.

Bombay **New book—Digest**
[The Editor]

* * *

We have all got to expunge our accumulated knowledge of Indian History and start learning all over again. What we have been cramming at school and at college and rubbing into ourselves all these years are now proved to be sheer balderdash.

The Zanzibar Voice

* * *

......We must throw overboard many preconceived notions about the history of ' Ancient India. '

Lahore **The Civil and Military Gazette**

* * *

This is a novel work...The author's learning is wide, his patience is inexhaustible.

Bombay **The Times of India**

* * *

With the characteristic zeal of a medical man, he dissects and vivisects the sources in such a way as to present to the readers " bomb-shell like and astounding theories ", either quite new or presented with a new garb.

One admirable feature of the book, is the inclusion of innumerable art plates of the architectural achievements of the epoch and the facsimile of the coins. **Indian Review**

* * *

Dr. Shah is Jain by religion and had had access to little-known, little-studied and somewhat inaccessible Jain works and manuscripts. A close study of these enabled him to produce a monumental work differing in many ways from orthodox historical works written by European orientalists in the middle and later decades of the last century and of the first decades of the present century. **Tanganyika Opinion**

* * *

The whole work has been based upon information which hitherto has not been exploited by historians and research workers.

The Kenya Daily Mail

* * *

Mr. Shah's work on Ancient India is an attempt to throw further light on Indian history from documents which, hitherto, have not been given the importance they seem to deserve.

The Ceylon Observer

* * *

...show much industry and wealth of material-literature, epigraphy, and numismatics. The author is not a historian by profession, but he has made this study his own. Many may not agree with all his views, but these views are strikingly original and need careful consideration before they are accepted or rejected.

Calcutta **The New Review**

* * *

It is possible that your conclusions may differ from the conclusions of those writers who have relied on Buddhist and Vedic literature. On the whole, your effort is sure to bring a good result and is therefore really praiseworthy. Yours truly,

Bombay **Vishvanath P. Vaidya**

Bar-at-Law

* * *

The author has not spared himself in the pursuit of knowledge, and had gathered materials from various sources. This is admirable.

Bombay **Sanj Vartaman**

* * *

Dr. Shah is one of those scholars who have not spared any effort in unearthing the golden past of India. Few books in any language can stand comparison with his work, which is the outcome of many years of constant application. The book is sure to prove a great incentive to scholars and will go a great way in furthering research work in this direction. His style is homely.

Ahmedabad **Prajabandhu**

* * *

The book presents a new angle of vision into the cobwebs of Indian antiquity, and therefore deserves full study by all students of ancient history. Written with a view to incite more research work, the book is invaluable and admirable.

To avoid all misconstruing, the readers may go through the preface first, as the author has clearly stated his viewpoint there.

Baroda **Nav-Gujarat**

* * *

His work certainly contains novel and startling theories. But all these theories deserve full attention and need not be disregarded as unacceptable simply because they are new.

Bombay **Gujarati**